

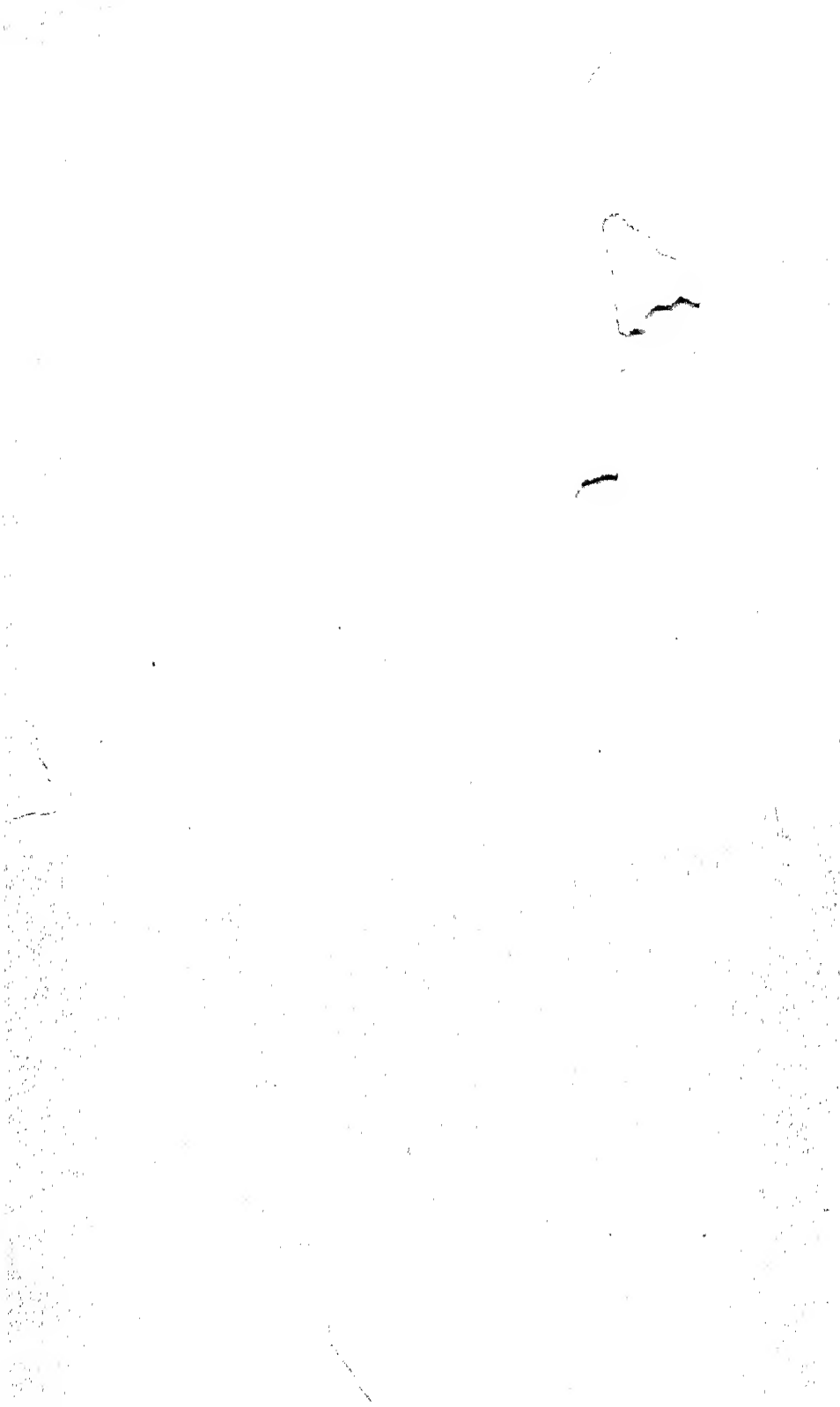
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JOURNAL

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AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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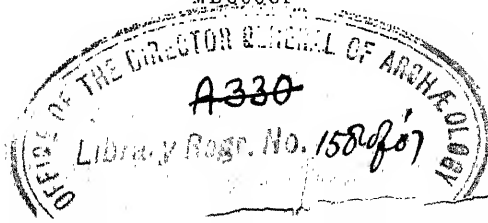
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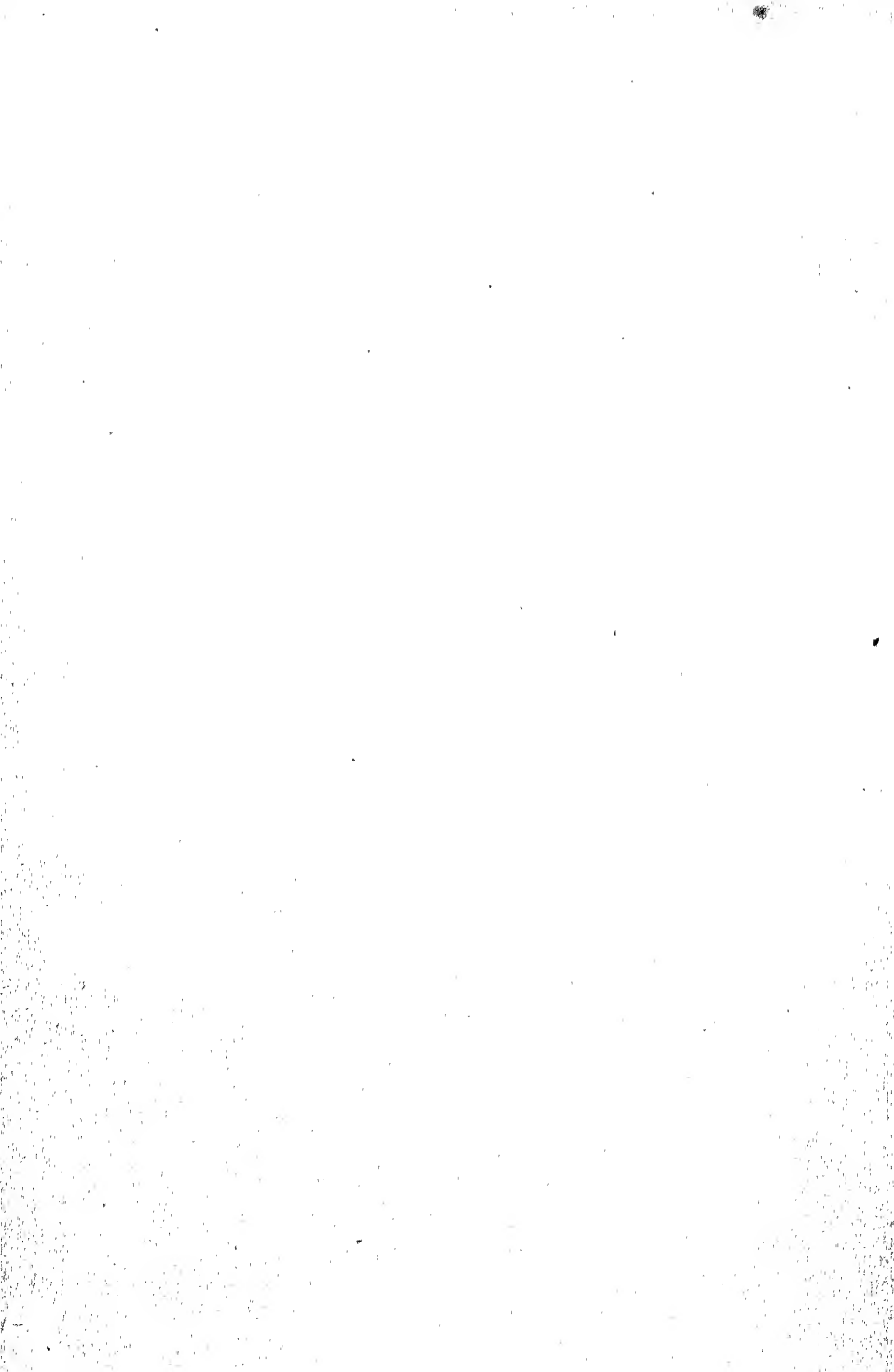
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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

The Unilingual Inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232,¹ translated.

—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE, PH.D., Professor in New York University, New York, N. Y.

HAPPILY for the Assyriological world, the long discussion as to the existence of a non-Semitic "Sumerian" language is rapidly drawing to a close. Indeed, the main question may be considered as practically settled. Even Friedrich Delitzsch, who has been until recently perhaps the most authoritative of the Anti-Sumerists,² has at last changed his views and now holds that the Sumerian was really a language and was not merely, as the Anti-Sumerists thought, an ideographic system of writing the Semitic Assyro-Babylonian.³ It may be stated that the majority of Assyriologists are now convinced of the two following main facts: first, that the cuneiform system of writing originated with a non-Semitic people; and second, that the language of this non-Semitic race, of which we have so many specimens, most of which appear in connection with an interlinear Assyrian translation, should be known as Sumerian.⁴ The reasons formerly advanced for the name Akkadian are now very generally regarded as unsatisfactory. A history and elucidation of the entire question is given by Weissbach in his short but comprehensive work *Die sumerische Frage*.⁴

Of course, Assyriology is really only at the threshold of Sumerian investigation, as there are many important problems

¹ Published in Haupt's *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, pp. 104-106.

² See his *Hdw.*, throughout, and his *Assyr. Gr.*, 1889, § 25, where he gives a long excursus against the theories of the Sumerists.

³ Cf. his remarkable work *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems, oder der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, Leipzig, 1897.

⁴ F. H. Weissbach, *Die sumerische Frage*, Leipzig, 1898; p. 181.

still to be solved. Of these the most weighty are undoubtedly : first, as to the phonology, grammatical structure and syntax of the language ; secondly, as to its vocabulary ; and thirdly and finally, as to its possible similarity to existing agglutinating speech-families. Dr. Christopher Johnston in the *JAOS.*, xv. pp. 317-322, has stated with admirable clearness the lines along which Sumerian research should proceed.

The following three inscriptions belonging to the library of Aššurbanipal are entirely unilingual, i. e. only in the Sumerian without the customary Assyrian interlinear translation. Nrs. 1 and 2 have never been translated before. They all reflect the ancient Semitic idea that disease (and incidentally sin, for the Assyro-Babylonian religion had a deep consciousness) be removed by being mysteriously communicated to the goat or deer species, which are then formally loaded with their load of guilt into the wilderness. In a paper on the Scapegoat read before the A.O.S. in Baltimore, and published in the *Journal*,¹ Dr. Christopher Johnston gives the translation of Nr. 3. A popular summary of it appeared in the *American Antiquarian*, xx. pp. 14. The author merely gives the translation of the inscription without any comments on the text, comparing, however, the Assyrian ritual of the scapegoat with the similar Hebrew custom.

In the Priestly Code of the Pentateuch, in Lev. xvi., we read that, on the Day of Atonement, the high priest (Aaron) was commanded to come to the sanctuary, where, after purifying himself with water, he was to put on the holy vestments. Two he-goats were then chosen for a sin offering, as well as a bullock for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering. The two goats were to be solemnly placed before *Jhvh* at the door of the tabernacle. Lots were then cast upon the goats, one of which was destined for *Jhvh* and the other to be a scapegoat for the demon Azazel.

¹ Cf. the popular article by Tallqvist, *Finsk Tidskrift*, xxxii. H. 3, pp. 193-214: *Fornbabyloniska och hebräiska psalmer*; and see especially, IV. R.² 10.

² Mention is made of it in *JAOS*, xviii. p. 388, Nr. 24.

³ For Azazel, Heb. **אֲזַאזֵל**, cf. Cheyne, "The Date and Origin of the Ritual of 'Aza'zēl," *ZATW.* xv. pp. 153-6. Also *Encycl. Bibl.* i. s.v. Azazel, and Johnston, *Amer. Antiq.*, xx. p. 141. Reuss, *Geschichte*², p. 201, says that the conception of Azazel lies in the way which led to that of the Devil.

The goat upon which the lot for Jhvh fell was accordingly presented and slain as a sin offering, together with the bullock and the ram. The high priest then laid his hands *upon the head* of the live scapegoat, confessing over it all the sins of Israel, which were thus thought to be placed upon the animal. A man especially appointed for the purpose led the goat into the wilderness, where it was allowed to go free "to Azazel." We should note that both the high priest and the person who led the animal away must purify themselves by washing after the ceremony.

Secondly, was the Hebrew custom with the goat. It is chiefly, in this connection, however, to note that in cases of — from leprosy a similar practice was followed with birds.

When leprosy spots had disappeared from the patient,¹ the priest took two birds, one of which was killed and its blood allowed to

run in a vessel over running water. The blood of the dead bird was sprinkled over the patient. The living bird, after being drawn in the blood and thus infected with the curse, was considered as "driven away" "into the open field" (cf. Lev. xiv. 9, 53). Following inscriptions, Nrs. 2 and 3 show an interesting Sumerian parallel with these Hebrew rites. In Nr. 2, the god Marduk is enjoined by his father Ea to bring "the gazelle which alleviates pain" before the patient, who in all three inscriptions is mentioned as "the king," and to place upon his head the head of the animal. The gazelle, having thus got the disease, which was of course caused by demons, was driven away from the king, who was straightway conjured to become clean. In Nr. 3, the king, after coming forth from the house of purification, shoots at the gazelle, which is placed *before the altar of the sun-god*, with a bow made by pure hands, but does not kill it. All the ailments from which the king had suffered "go forth" into the gazelle "like (the arrow of) the bow." The scapegoat is then let loose in the field and the curse takes up its abode with it. In Nr. 1, also, we see a variation of the same idea. Here, in lines 2-9, the wild horned gazelles evidently typify demons like the Hebrew *ser'im*. They are enjoined not to approach the

¹ The disappearance of leprosy spots from the skin in the early stages of the disease is universal. The initial hyperæmia tends to subside and remain quiescent until a further exacerbation of the leprosy fever is at hand, when the spots reappear with increased force. Any hope that the disease had left the system which was based on this phenomenon was therefore a vain one.

king, and are ordered by Marduk to depart to the boundaries of the great deep. After this general divine command to the unclean gazelle-demons to depart, the priest proceeds to purify the king (lines 9-15). Then comes the injunction "drive away that horned gazelle," which would imply the scapegoat ceremony as in Nrs. 2 and 3, although it is not stated here that the gazelle was actually placed in contact with the patient. With the departure of the gazelle, which must go into the field to a clean place (i. e. *unclean place*),¹ it is prayed that all evil disease may disappear from the king.

The similarity between these Assyrian ceremonies and the Hebrew rites is too striking to require much comment. In both instances, we have the sin or disease communicated to the goat or deer-like animal which is let loose in the waste places to roam as a thing accurst. Furthermore, in Nr. 2 the disease is placed upon the head of the animal, as in the Hebrew record, and in both accounts the element of purification is essentially the same. There can be no doubt that animals of the goat family were recognized as types of the demons of the waste who were endowed with baleful influence against man, and who were in fact regarded as the chief cause of disease. In this connection should be compared Isa. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 14. In 2 Chr. xi. 15 and Lev. xvii. 7, the *se'irim* are mentioned as receiving worship.

So far as I am aware, the inscriptions here translated are the only ones which relate directly to the Assyrian ceremony of the scapegoat, although the idea of removing sin or disease is common in the cuneiform psalm-literature. We should compare here the characteristic examples cited by Johnston, *Amer. Antiq.*, xx. pp. 141-2, as well as the refrain given by Tallqvist, *Finsk Tidsskrift*, March, 1892, p. 208: "Many are my sins and I am broken in all things. May the curse depart; may it go to the desert."

It is highly probable, as Professor Haupt has pointed out in his paper on the Origin of the Pentateuch, PAOS. March, 1894, pp. cii-ciii., that the entire Priestly Code was influenced by Babylonian institutions. In this instance, it would appear, we have the Babylonian prototype of the Hebrew scapegoat.

¹ Haupt has shown that this euphemism is found, for example, IV.R. 8, 48; 14, Nr. 2, Rev. 2; cf. Lev. vi. 11: 'he shall carry forth the ashes without the camp unto a *clean place*.'

It may be noted here that superstitions essentially the same in character as the idea of the scapegoat are still in existence among the Irish Celts. I have personally been gravely told that infectious diseases, especially measles and mumps, may be checked soon after their inception, by permitting the patient to fondle some small animal, such as a puppy or kitten, which is believed to contract the disease and remove it from the human sufferer. The animal is usually taken out and killed. Another similar practice sometimes observed among the same people is to make the patient duck three times under an ass, which is then thought to carry the disease away.

In Nrs. 1 and 3 of the following inscriptions, I have given so far as possible the Sumerian transliteration and an English translation. In Nr. 2, however, I have ventured to add, for the sake of greater clearness, an Assyrian translation of my own.

Nr. 1 ; ASKT.¹ pp. 104-5.

2. *En. Lugal* (?) *zu* (?) *šeš-duggu-bi lum-lum.*
Incantation. The king (?) the hair of his body sprouts forth.
3. *Lu-a-dar-maš* *birghar-sag-ga-kit ;*
The horned gazelles, the wife of the mountains ;
4. *Lu-a-dar-maš* *edin-na sar-a ;*
the horned gazelles which wander forth in the field ;
5. *Lu-a-dar-maš kur-ra* *dim-má-e-ne ;*
The horned gazelles of the mountain (and) their young ;
6. *GIŠ.PA. nam-ba-te-gá-e-ne.*
may they not approach the sceptre (of the king).
7. *Urud zi in-maš nu-tag-tag-ga-e-ne ; nam-šu(=ku) mu-un-na-ni-in-tar ;*
The vessel of life which is clean (?) they shall not overturn ;
it is decreed for fate (?).
8. *dingir Asaru lu-a-dara-bi-ši na-ba-ši-in-de :*
Marduk prepares a destruction for those horned gazelles (saying) :
9. *GIŠ.GHAR eš-maghe si-di-e-ne.*
"Betake yourselves unto the boundaries of the great deep."

¹ Note that I use ASKT. and HT. as synonymous abbreviations for Haupt's *Akkadische u. sumerische Keilschrifttexte*.

10. *Lu-ra igi-šu gin (DU)-a-ni-ta*
When he goes before the man (i. e. the patient)
11. *Nun-me KA.MU.GAL. Nun-ki-ga-kit e-ne a (ID) ba-da-an-aka :*
the *Abkalhu*, he who utters the spell of Eridu, he shall issue the decree (saying):
12. *Gin-na KA.MU.GAL. Nun-ki-ga-kit e-ne*
"Depart ; it is the utterer of the spell of Eridu."
13. *E a-šu-nag-a-šu GI Urugal (ŠEŠ.GAL.) du-du (KAK. KAK.)-a-bi,*
When the *Urugal* places the GI in the house of purification,
14. *a-gub-ba gibilla (G.L.BIL.LAL.) ; nin-na na-ri-ga*
pure water (and) fire, whatsoever belongeth to purification,
15. *lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na a-zi-da a-ka-bu u-me-ni-e (UD.DU.).*
bring forth before the king, the son of his god, on the right hand and on the left.
16. *Lu-a-dara-bi u-me-te-gur-gur.*
Drive away that horned gazelle.
17. *Utug ghul A.LAL. ghul gekim ghul TE.LAL. ghul,*
The evil demon, the evil *alá*, the evil *ékimmu*, the evil *gallá*,
18. *nin-ak-a nin-ghul-gim-ma a-ba-da-an-ur-ri-eš.*
the affliction (of the saliva), the disease, may they be accursed.
19. *Edin-na ki-ri-a-šu gira-bi gha-ba-an-lagh-gi-eš.*
In the field, in a clean place may its foot stand.
20. *Lugal-e nannu (AN.ŠEŠ.KI.) babbar-bi igi-ni-šu a-ga-ni-šu ghe-en-da-lagh-lagh-gi-eš.*
As for the king, may the moon and the sun be established before him and behind him.
21. *Ki nam-ti-lu-šu ghu-mu-ni-ib-gub-bu-da.*
May he be firmly established in the place of life.
22. *Tu (MU.KA.GA.) ka dingir Ea-kit (EN.KI.GA.-kit) ;*
The incantation of Ea's mouth ;
23. *tu-tu dingir Asaru abzu-a (ZU.AB.-a) nam-šub la-an-se.*
as for the incantations, may Marduk hurl the spell into the deep.
24. *dingir Ea (EN.KI.-kit) e-nun-na-kit ghe-im-ma-an-gaba-gaba.*
May Ea of the Great House loosen it.
25. *Utugghul A.LAL. ghul (gekim ghul TE.LAL. ghul)*
May the evil demon, the evil *alá*, (the evil *ékimmu*, the evil *gallá*)

26. *su lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na bara-šú ghe-(in-ta-gub).*
stand aside from the body of the king, the son of his god.
27. *Utug šig-ga lamma (AN.KAL.) šig-ga nam-en-na nam-*
lugal-la-kalam-ma-kit.
May a favouring demon (and) a favouring *lamassu* for his
rule and his sovereignty over the land
28. *su-na ghe-en-lagh-lagh-gi-eš.*
be established in his body.
-
29. *Enim-enim-ma lu-a-dar* A.KAM.
The incantation of the horned gazelle. ??

COMMENTARY.

2. Only the last part of this line is legible. For *šeš-duggu* = *šarat zumrišu*, cf. V.R. 50, 51a. The same ideogram *šeš-duggu*, if preceded by *su* = *mašku* 'skin' as a determinative, may be read *šappartu* 'skin of a goat'; cf. Br. 241, and see V.R. 50, 48b. In this case, however, as the preceding character is probably not *su* (see text), I prefer to read the phrase as referring to the unhealthy condition of the king, as in V.R. 50, 57a, where we read: *sa rabiḡu limnu šarat zumrišu (šeš-duggu) ušzizu* 'he, the hair of whose body an evil lurker (demon) causes to stand up,' i. e. with disease or terror. *Ušzizu* is probably not to be rendered 'takes away,' with Delitzsch, *Hdwb.* s. v. *naḡāzu*, p. 456.

3. The ideogram *lu-a-dar-maš* may be interpreted as follows: *Lu* (*udu*) = *immeru* 'sheep,' Br. 10681. *A* (ID.) = *garnu* 'horn,' Br. 6553. *Dar-maš* = *alu* 'gazelle,' II.R. 6, 11c; LTP. p. 170. Note that in line 8, *dara* appears without *maš*.

The sign *bir* (see Br. 2024 ff.) is evidently a compound of MAŠ-BAR. (Br. 1720) = *giptu* (from 𐎶𐎵) 'suboles,' Sc. 1a, 11, + DUG-SAR. = *kiššatu* 'multitude' (Br. 8221). The original meaning of the sign is probably 'abound, be superabundant' cf. *lalā*, *Hdwb.* s. v., and see also Delitzsch, *Die Entstehung d. ältesten Schriftsystems*, p. 160). Assyrian *urīḡu* is probably the proper translation of *bir* in these inscriptions, as the context clearly demands a distinct species of horned animal (cf. Nr. 2; lines 37-38), and not a general expression denoting wild *cervidae*. *Urīḡu* is the only specific term which *bir* represents. It was evidently an animal with long horns, as may be seen from IV.R. 26, 20/21: *Bir ša sag el-lu* 'a lofty headed *urīḡu*'; cf. Ps. xcii.

11. The *urīgu* may have been the powerful leucoryx antelope (*oryx leucoryx*) which has horns more than three feet long (see plate in Wellhausen's *Psalms*, SBOT. p. 173). The Assyrian word may be cognate with Hebrew עָרִיץ 'violent.'

4. *Sar=aḡū*, Br. 4302. For *sar-a*, as here, cf. IV.R. 11, 25b.

5. *Dim-ma=tarbu* 'offspring' (see *Idol.* p. 610, and Br. 1167).

6. GIŠ.PA. can mean only sceptre. *Nam-ba-le-ga-ne=a iṭṭāni* (from *ṭeāḏ*), IV.R. 5, 72c.

7. This is an extremely difficult line. That *urud* means vessel, not necessarily of copper—*urud*=*ḫrū* in the later Assyrian (cf. Sb. 114)—has been shown by Delitzsch, *Schriftsystem*, p. 186 ff. (cf. also Zb. p. 6, n. 2). I read *in-maš* as a possible verbal formation=*ša ḫil*; cf. MAŠ.=*ḫlu*, Sc. 3 (see Br. 1750, and cf. MAŠ.MAŠ.=*uṭḫulu*, Sc. 1b, 15, and *uṭḫubu*, Br. 1854). For *nu-tag-tag-e-ne*, cf. *tag=lapātu*, Br. 3797.

Nam-ku may be, as I render, for *nam=šimtu* 'fate' + the postposition *-ku* (*šū*), i. e. *ana šimti* construed with *tar=šimtu*, Br. 381; cf. IV.R. 9, 31a: *munib-tar-ene=ša šimti išimmu*, and IV.R. 23, 31a; *nam-tar-tar-ra=mušim šimti*. On the other hand, *nam-ku* is ideogram for *rubātu* 'greatness' (Br. 2217), i. e. the (king's) greatness is established (?). The prefix *munanin-* is not found elsewhere, but cf. *munanib-gi=ippalsu* in a probably passive sense (Br. 6308).

8. *dingir Asaru*. For this reading of *šilig-ri*=Marduk, cf. II. R. 55, 68c, and Br. 924. See also below on Nr. 2, 31.

The form *na-ba-ši-in-de* is without parallel. I conclude that *na-ba-ši-in-* is a prefix combination, although *na-ba* never occurs. For *na-* alone as the simple prefix of the third pers. cf., however, Br. 6331. *Ba-šin*, i. e. *ba* + *šin*, the infixed reflexive, similar in force to the Turkish *-in-*, in *sev-in-mek* 'to love oneself,' occurs, for example, Br. 1072 in *bašin-tu=erumma* 'he entered,' *scil. sibi*; ethical dative. The character *de* may mean *abātu* and *walāqu* (Br. 6721; 6726). For its primary signification *simug=nappazu*, see Delitzsch, *Schriftsystem*, p. 81. A discussion of this sign will be found ZA. i. p. 256. When combined with *ka* 'word, mouth,' it must be translated by *šapāku, tabāku* 'pour out, heap up,' Br. 6732-3, i. e. 'pour out words'; see below on Nr. 2, 34. That it cannot mean 'speak' in our passage is clear from the absence of *ka*, without which *de* never appears in this sense.

9. GIŠ.GHAR.=*uḡurtu*, Br. 8545; cf. also HT. 105, 44. *Uḡurtu*, from *ḡḡuru* (𒄩𒄬), denotes any circumscribed place where an absolute ruler has sole sway. See below on Nr. 2, 44.

Eš=ab, Sb. 189, + *magh* 'the great dwelling' (cf. *eš=bītum*, Br. 3817), i. e. the abyss of the ocean. Cf. *ama-eš-magħ*, a secondary name of Damkina; 'mother of the abyss'; Zb. 40, p. 14, and IL.R. 58, 45d; and see also line 24 of this inscription.

For *si-di=ešḡuru* 'hurl oneself,' cf. N.E. 63, 46: *ša utukku limnu ḡlišu iširu* 'he upon whom the evil demon has hurled himself,' and for the imperative in Sumerian ending in *-ne*, cf. Br. 4401.

10. *Gin-a-ni-ta=ina alākišu (-ta=ina)*, cf. IV.R. 26, 2b.

11. *Nun-me=abkallu*, HT. 78, 6'7; Sfg. 55, 5; KAT. p. 78; i. e. 'he who decides,' as *abkal ilāni*, Anp. i. 5. It was probably a priestly office.

KAMU.GAL from *ka=pā* 'mouth' (Br. 538), + *mu=šiptu* (Br. 781) 'incantation,' + *gal* (IK.)=*pitā* 'open' (Br. 2248). Translate: 'he who opens the mouth of incantation,' i. e. 'enchanter.'

A (ID) *ba-da-an-aka*. For the prefix *ba-dan*, of Br. p. 531. The combination *a* (ID) + *aka* (RAM) is given Br. 4750, where ID.RAM.GA=*tērtu* 'law,' for which word in Assyrian, see EIH. iv. 30. We find also LU.ID.RAM.GA=*ārtu* 'decree,' and RAM=*āru*, Br. 4751; cf. *tērtu ā-rum* 'issue a decree,' V.R. 20, 24b. A (ID) *ba-dan-aka*, then, would mean 'he issues the decree.' A similar kind of expression is *ka mu-nan-de* 'he pours forth words' (see note on line 8).

12. *Gin-na*; see below on Nr. 2, 35.

13. *A-šu-nag-a=risnu*, II.R. 48, 34e; cf. K. 4386, c. i. 44 'pouring out water,' from 𒍪𒍪 'sprinkle' (?). *Šu-nag* also means *ramāku*, II.R. 48, 33e; *rimku*, V.R. 51, 48b. For this expression 'house of purification,' which probably refers to a special temple used for this purpose, cf. HT. 106, 16.

The ideogram GI means primarily *qanā* 'reed,' and also *biḡlu* 'produce,' Br. 2387 and 2392 (see Sfg. p. 49). The exact meaning of the line is not clear, but it must refer to some detail of the ceremony of purification. For ŠEŠ.GAL, lit. 'big brother'=urugal, cf. Br. 6452. This word also denotes a priestly office, perhaps subordinate to the *abkallu*.

Du-du-a-bi 'when he sets up.' *Du* is *banā*, Br. 5248, *šakanu*, 5269, or *ritā*, 5265. The 3 p. suffix *-bi* probably indicates the

construction *ina šakānišu*, although the *-ta=ina* is wanting here; cf. line 10, *ina alākišu*, where *-ta* appears; but see HT. p. 105, 1: *gin-a-na* 'when he goes.'

14. *Agubba=agubbā* 'pure water,' Br. 11418. *Gibilla* 'fire,' Br. 2473; but for the rendering *tipāru* 'torch,' see ZK. ii. p. 52. The god of fire (*angur* BIL.GI=*Gibil*) is praised in HT. 79, 10. *Na-ri-ga=alālu*, *ēlu* and *ēliltu*, i. e. 'be pure, pure' and 'purification,' Br. 1600-1602; cf. RI=*alālu*, Br. 2556.

15. The expression 'son of his god' (line 20, Nr. 2, 39 *et passim*) simply means pious person. The king here is of course identical with the patient of line 10. *U-me-ni-e*. For the imperative prefix *umeni-*, cf. Br. p. 546, and see Nr. 2, 38.

16. The suffix *-bi* is often used in the sense of the demonstrative pronoun *šuatu*; cf. *ga-bi-gim=kīnu šizbi šuatu* 'like that milk,' IV.R. 16, 44b. In IV.R. 5, 52a, *-bi=šuatu*.

U-me-te-gur-gur. The imperative prefix *umete-*, if the *-te* is indeed a part of the prefix, is not found elsewhere. My reason for regarding *-te* as a formative element is that *gur* alone is used for *dapāru*, Br. 3361. We find *-te*, however, in *u-mu-un-te-gur-gur=dupirma*, IV.R. 27, 54, 57b, and HT. 103, 39. Brünnow unnecessarily gives *te-gur* as a variant of *gur*, 7719. *Te* is probably a variant of the locative *ta=* 'thence,' here. The exact meaning of *dapāru* is not quite clear, but the Sumerian *gur* means primarily *tāru* 'turn,' Br. 3367, so that *u-me-te-gur-gur=dupirma* may be rendered 'turn away,' i. e. 'drive out,' used of disease as represented by the scapegoat. Delitzsch, *Hdw.* p. 226, cites *xititi duppiri* 'drive away my sin,' K. 4931, rev. 7/8, and *liddippir namtar* 'may the evil fate be driven out,' K. 155, rev. It is not probable that דפּר is identical with טפּר, seen, for example, in *d(t)iparu*, Zb. 46-7. The stem דפּר may be connected with Heb. דבּר in the sense 'drive back,' which occurs, for example, in Ps. cxxvii. 5; דבּרו את-אויבֵים בשַׁעַר 'they shall drive back the enemies in the gate'; cf. דבּיר, back part of the sanctuary (Lagarde, *Arm. Stud.*, § 541).

17. The *utug* might also be a favourable influence; see line 27.

A.LAL=*alā*, Br. 11638. *Alā* was the heavenly bull created by *Anu* to avenge his daughter *Ištar*. According to the Nimrod Epic, it was killed by Gilgamesh and Eabani. Its secondary meaning, as seen here, is an evil demon with power to afflict man with disease.

Gekim=*ekimmu*, Br. 11307. Note the difference between this sign and *utug*, Br. 11311. The *ekimmu* was the restless wandering ghost.

TELAL=*gallá*, Br. 7732, was an evil demon similar to the *alá*. With this whole line, cf. IV.R. 16, 16a; *Lu utukku limnu, lu alá limnu, lu ekimmu limnu, lu gallu limnu*.

18. *Nin-ak-a=aršašá*, Br. 12023; also HT. 106, 19 'spittle' (so Muss-Arnolt in his *Assyr. Dict. s. v.*; cf. Jensen, ZK. ii. 33, and rem. 3). The word may be cognate with Syr. ܫܪܫܐ. It is used in connection with *ru'tu* in HT. 86/7, 60; *aršašá ru'tu ša ina pi limniš nadat*, 'spittle and breath foully thrown from the mouth.'

Nin-ghul-gim-ma, lit. 'whatever causes evil to exist,' hence 'disease.' See HT. 106, 19.

A-ba-da-an-ur-ri-eš. Although *abadan-* does not occur elsewhere as a prefix, we find *abadab-*, Br. 7556, and, of course, *badan-*; see line 11. *Ur=aráru*, usually *ur-ur*, Br. 11888. The primitive meaning of *ur* is perhaps 'to bind'; cf. *xamámu*, Br. 11890, Sb. 271 and Zb. p. 81; also *egědu*, Br. 11889; hence *aráru* 'to bind with a curse.'

19. *Ki-ri-a-šu*. *Ki=ašru* place, Br. 9627; *ri=alálu* 'be clean,' Br. 2556; *a* is the vowel of prolongation, and *-šú (-ku)* is the postposition *ana*, *ina*. For *-ku(šú)=ina*, cf. Br. 10563. This is euphemistic for 'unclean place' (see above).

Gha-ba-an-lagh-gi-eš. For the prefix *ghaban-*, cf. Br. p. 548. *Lagh=nazázu*, Br. 4939. See also below on line 20. Note that *lag* also means *aláku* 'go,' Br. 4935.

20. AN.ŠEŠ.KI=*nanmu*, Br. 6453, i. e. *Sin*, 'the moon'; see IV.R. i. 29b. AN.TU.=*babbar=Šamaš* 'the sun,' Br. 7795. For *-bi* in the sense of the copula 'and,' cf. Br. 5131.

Igi-ni-šú=ana pánišu, IV.R. 2, 27b; *a-ga-ni-šú=ana arkišu*, Br. 11524/5.

Ghe-en-da-lagh-lagh-gi-eš. For the precativ prefix *ghenda-*, cf. Br. p. 539, and for *lagh-lagh=nazázu*, see above on line 19. The correct rendering here is probably *kánu* (Br. 4937); see HT. p. 92/3, 12. The suffix *-gi* indicating the vowel of prolongation shows that *lagh* must have been pronounced *laghg*.

21. *Nam-til-la=balátu*, Br. 2133. *Ghu-mu-ni-ib-gub-bu-da*. For the precativ prefix *ghu-mu-nib*, i. e. *ghu-*, precativ element, + *mu*, pref. 3 p., and *-nib-*, infixed reflexive like *-šin-*, cf. Br. p. 537. *Gub-bu* means both *nazázu*, Br. 4893, and *kánu*, Br. 4884. The

suffix *-da* in this form is very interesting. Parallel cases are found Br. 7688; *baran-te-ga-da=la tedixxi*; also *namba-te-ge-da=a itxuni*, from which we may perhaps infer that *-da* is a locative element incorporated with the verb-form, supplementing the force in this phrase of the postposition *-šú=ina* 'in.' Cf. also *su-ni-tu gha-ba-an-tar-ru-da*, Nr. 3, 21, 'may it go out of his body.' Other instances of incorporated *-da* are found, Br. 4211, *gi-ib-bi-da=ixallulum*; 1814, *šu-bur-ri-da=uššuru*. In other languages of the agglutinative type such incorporation is well known. In the agglutinative and polysynthetic American tongues, precisely the same phenomenon occurs in such expressions as the Abenaki (Algonic dialect): *Otawa n-oji-n'mil'gon* 'from Ottawa it was given to me.' In this form *n'*= 'to me'; *-oji-* is the incapsulated prepositional element 'from'; *mil*= 'give,' and *-gon*= third person 'he-she.'

22. MU.KA.GA.=tu (*mu*)=Assyr. *tū* 'incantation,' Br. 783. For *Ea=En-ki-ga*, see Br. 2906, and for the gen. of this word with *-kit*, see IV.R. 1, 36b.

23. *Tu-tu + nam-šub* seems to mean 'incantation'; cf. IV.R. 21, 47b; *tu-tu nam-šub ba-an-se=idišuma šiptu* 'he casts it out, i. e. the incantation.' *Abzu-a* (ZU.AB.-a) 'unto the deep.' Note that *-a=ana*, Br. 11364; *a=ina*, 11365. *Se=nadā*, Br. 4417.

24. *E-nun-na-kit* 'of the great house,' i. e. 'of the abyss' (see above line 9), where *Ea* resides; cf. HT. 76, 11/12; *ana Ea ina apsi* 'unto Ea in the deep.'

Ghe-im-ma-an-gaba-gaba. For *ghe-im-man*, see Br. p. 540. The infix *-man-* here is probably identical with *-nib-*, *-šin-*, i. e. infixed reflexive. *Gaba=paṭāru*, Br. 4488, and see Sb. 345. A similar idiom relating to loosening a curse is found in the expression: *lipattiru mamitsunu* 'may they loosen the curse'; *Hdwob.* p. 522.

25. This line was left unfinished by the scribe. It should probably be filled out from line 17.

26. *Bar-a-šu=ina axdti*; cf. IV.R. 2, 24a (Br. 1730). The verb here should probably be *ghe-im-ta-gub=lizziz*, as in Nr. 2, 44. For this whole line, cf. HT. 93, 10; *bar-ta-bi-šu gha-ba-ra-an-gub-ba=ina axdti lizziz*. Note here the incapsulated locative *-ta-* which, like *-da* in line 21 above, is complementary to *šu*.

27. With this line should be compared the identical passage HT. 93/2, 11; *Utug šig-ga lamma* (AN.KAL.) *šig-ga=šedu dumqi lamasi dumqi*. *Utug=šedu* only in these passages.

Šedu and *lamassu* (also *lamaššu*) indicate varieties of the bull-god which was represented by *colossi* at the entrances of temples and palaces. *Šedu* and *lamassu* were always protectors when mentioned together (*Hdwob.* p. 381). The *šedu* when alone was a destroying storm-god. The usual ideogram for *šedu* is *alad*; cf. the unilingual line HT. 88, 40; *Alad* AN.KAL. *nin šig-gu*=*šedu lamassu dumqi* (the Assyrian here is mine). Note that AN.KAL. (pron. *lamma*)=*lamassu* occurs Sb. 176.

Nam-lugal-la-kulam-ma-kit. Kulam (kalama)=*matu*, Br. 5914.

28. This line is precisely identical with HT. 92. 12.

Nr. 2; ASKT. p. 104.

30. *En bir-ghul-dub-ba. Nun-e na-ri-ga*

Šipat urīgi ša ušapšax limutta. Rubā ša tēlilti

Incantation of the gazelle which alleviates evil (pain).

The prince of purification,

31. ^{dingir} *Asaru tur Nun-ki-ga-kit ela-bi me (?) -gal-li-eš dug-ga.*

^{lu} *Marduk mār Eridu elliš iqabbi.*

Marduk, son of Eridu, purely speaks.

32. *Nin-a-gha-kud-du nin tu-tu-da-na*

Nin-a-gha-kud-du bēltu (ina) šipātiša

Nin-a-gha-kud-du the lady (in) her incantations

33. *gi-bi nu-ni-ib-gar.*

. *ṭābiš (?) ištakan.*

graciously (?) she confirms it (?).

34. *En-ki lugal abzū (ZU. AB.) -kit tura-ni dingir Asaru ka mu-na-an-de-e:*

Ea šar apsī ana mārišu lu Marduk išessi:

Ea the king of the abyss unto his son Marduk speaks:

35. *Gin-na tura-mu dingir Asaru.*

Ālik māri lu Marduk.

"Go, my son Marduk."

36. *Lu-nam-erim-ma in-dib-ba-a-an.*

Ābi lū iṣbatūšu.

"The enemies have seized him (the patient)."

37. *Bir-ghul-dub-ba šu-u-me-ti.*

Urīga ša ušapšax limutta liqēma.

"Take the gazelle which alleviates evil (pain)."

38. *Saga-bi sag-ga-na u-me-ni-gar-gar.*

gaqqadsu ana gaqqadišu šukunma.

"Place its head upon his (the patient's) head."

39. *Lugal-etur dingira-na u-me-te-gur-gur.*
Ana šarri mār ilišu dupirma.
 "Drive it away from the king, the son of his god."
40. *Ugh (?)-bi ka-bi-šu ghe-ni-ib-šub-ba.*
Riċtušu ina pišu littadi.
 "May his spittle flow from his mouth."
41. *Lugala-bi ghe-en-el ghe-en-lagh-lagh.*
Šarru šuatu lilil libib.
 "May that king be pure, may he be clean."
42. *Lu-nam-erim-ma nu-un-zu-a ;*
Ēbi lā ilā ;
 "The enemies (the hostile demons of disease) understand it not (i. e. do not comprehend the method of cure) ;
43. *su-ni-ta ghe-ni-ib-ta-e.*
ina zumrišu lissā.
 from his body may they tear themselves away."
44. *Dingir GIŠ.GHAR.-ra-kit bara-šu ghe-im-ta-gub.*
Ilu ša uċurti ina axċti lizziz.
 "May the god of the uċurtu stand aside."
45. *Enim-enim-ma bir-ghul-dub-ba. KAM.*
Šipat urċi ša ušapšax limutta. KAM.
 The incantation formula of the gazelle which alleviates evil. KAM. ?

COMMENTARY.

30. *Bir-ghul-dub-ba.* For *bir*, see above on Nr. 1, 3. That *ghul* denotes the abstract noun *limuttu* as well as the adj. *limnu* is clear from Br. 9503 ; cf. IV.R. 28, 7a ; *ghul gim-ma=ēpeš limutti. Dub-ba=pašāxu*, Br. 7030.

31. *Ela-bi* or *elābi* with vowel of prolongation, for *el + bi*, is adverbial here, *ēliš* ; cf. II.R. 47, 55c, *magha-bi=ma'diš* ; IV.R. 5, 20b, *pa(sig)-pa(sig)-ga-bi=šaqummiš* ; and for further examples of the adverbial use of the suffix *-bi*, cf. Br. 5139. That the ending *-eš* has also a purely adverbial force is seen from *bur-ri-eš=azriš*, IV.R. 17, 38a ; cf. also *dug-gi-eš=ṭābis*, HT. 105, 8b. For *Dug* (id. KA) *-ga=qibā*, cf. Br. 531, and see especially IV. R. 41 (48), 22a, *dug-ga=iqabbi* (in var. K. 8018).

32. *Nin-a-gha-kud-du* is called 'lady of the shining water,' IV.R. 28, Nr. 3, 58 ; *ninagubba*. In IV.R. 15, 39b she is especially invoked to protect and purify the sick ; cf. II.R. 58, 48,

where we read: 'may she utter the magic spell of Eridu with her pure mouth.' She is not infrequently associated with incantations (see Hommel, *Sem.* i. p. 383).

The reduplication *tu-tu* is probably plural (cf. HT. p. 140); *da*=the prep. *ina*, and *-na* is the suffix of the third person. It is possible, however, that *-da* represents the prolongation of *tu*=*tud* (?).

33. *gi-bi* may be for *dug-gi-bi*=*ṭābiš*, cf. HT. p. 105, s B, *dug-gi-eš* 'graciously.'

33. *Munūbgar*. For *mu-nib*=*īṭeal* and *īṭaneal*, cf. Br. 3463 and 11897. A prefix and infix are frequently used to express the infixed verb form in Assyrian. For *īštakan*, see *ba-nin-gar*, IV.R. 8, 22b; 26, 8b; 7, 1a, 19a.

34. *Kā mu-nan-de-e*=*išessi* from *šasū* also HT. p. 76, 5/6. The infix *-nan-* here has the force of a dative, expressed in the Assyrian *ana mārišu*. See above, note on Nr. 1, 8.

35. For this line, cf. HT. p. 77, 27.

36. *Lu-nam-erim-ma*=*ābu* 'foe, enemy,' II.R. 24, Nr. 2 Obv.; K. 133, Obv. 7/8; IV.R. 21, Nr. 1 B, Rev. 17 (see also Br. 4604). Owing to the verb-forms in lines 42-3 the noun is probably to be construed as a plural here, i. e. *ābi* 'enemies.' *Lu*=*amēlu* 'man, person' and *erim-ma*=*raggu* 'evil, hostile'; Br. 4607.

In-dib-ba-a-an. *Dibba*=*gabātu* 'seize,' Br. 10694, and cf. Nr. 3, 3. The combination of a prefix (in this case *in-*) with the suffix *-a-an* is used to denote the past relation, also Br. 7977; *ba-an-pi-el-lal-a-an*=*ulte*'; *mu-un-gam-a-an*=*kanšaku*, Br. 7322, etc. For the force of *-a-an* in general, see Br. p. 561 B.

37. *Šu-u-me-ti*=*liqēma*, IV.R. 3, 42a.

38. *U-me-ni-gar-gar*=*šukunma*, K. 246, c. ii. 53; K. 1284, 39. For *umeni*, imperative prefix, cf. Br. p. 546. This line is explained by IV.R. 26, 24/5b; *sag bir sag en-šū ba-an-se*=*qaggaḍ urīgi ana qaggaḍ amēli ittadin* 'the head of the *urīgu* is placed in contact with the head of the man,' i. e. to receive the disease. Exactly the reverse of this idea is seen in HT. 91, 65 ff.: *marušt- tu aršašū lā ṭabāti qaggaḍsunu ana qaggaḍišu . . . ā iškunu*; *ā it-xū* 'the evil sickness and (evil) saliva, may they not place their head against his head. May they not approach him.' Also in HT. 88, 40-1, we read: *Alad AN.KAL. (lamma) nin šig-ga sag-ga-na a-ba-ni-in-gub*=*šedu lamassu dumgi ina rēšišu lizziz* 'may the protecting bull-gods (see above on Nr. 1, 27) who are favourable stand at his head.' It is clear from these inscriptions that

the head was regarded as the seat of disease; cf. also in this connection the custom of laying the *kurūmatu* 'magic food' (?) on the patient's head, possibly with the double idea that it should act as a fomentation and as a charm (for *kurūmatu*, see Zb. 49, and note 6).

39. See above on 1, 16.

40. For *ugh* (?), cf. Jensen, ZK. ii. p. 32, n. 1, and Br. 789, 791. The king probably had a fever, and so the flow of saliva was of course a favorable sign.

Šubba=*nadā*, II.R. 35, 13c. For *ghe*-, the precativ prefix, and the infix *-nib-* cf. Br. p. 539; and for *nadā* 'pour forth,' *seil* 'spittle' (*ru'tu*), see *ittadi*, NE. 8, 34: *ittadi ina gēri* 'she spat upon it.' Cf. *Hdwb.* s. v. *ru'tu*.

42. *Nu-un-zu-a=la idā*, pl., cf. IV.R. 7, 42a.

43. *Ghe-nib-ta-e*. *E* (UD.DU.)=*aḡ* 'go forth,' Sb. 84; but here it clearly stands for the stronger expression *nīsā* 'tear, wrench forth, go forth violently,' cf. IV.R. 15, c. ii. 5/6 f., exactly as in our text: *sunita ghenibta-e=ina zumrišu li-is-su-u*, and 1. 47c: *ghe-ni-ib-ta-e=li-is-su-u*. The infix *-tu-* is here the locative prepositional particle=*ina* 'out of' (see Prince, JAOS. 1895, p. cxxxiv.).

44. For *GIŠ-GHAR* = *ugurtu*, see above on Nr. 1, 9. The god of the *ugurtu* in this passage is clearly a baleful influence; cf. ZA. i. p. 32, and Delitzsch, *Hdwb.*, s. v. *ugurtu*.

For *bara-šu*, see above, Nr. 1, 26. For *gub=nazāzu*, cf. Br. 4893.

Nr. 3; ASKT. pp. 105-6.

1. *En. En-na edin-na gin-a-na*;

Incantation. When the lord Bel goes forth into the field;

2. *En-gal Ea (En-ku-kit) edin-na gin-a-na*,

When the great lord Ea goes forth into the field,

3. *bir-anšu ŠA.DU.ŠA.DU. -bi edin-na-kit mi-ni-ib-dib-dib.*
the beasts of that pasture in the field he catches.

4. *Sikka sikka-bar-ra dara lulim-bi-e-ne (mu-ni-)ib-e-ne.*
The leaders of the goats, the wild goats (and) the gazelles
he drives away.

5. *BAR.KAK. ZUR.BAR.KAK.-bi edin-na-kit mi-ni-ib-dib-dib.*

The gazelle and the gazelle-fawn of the field he seizes.

6. *BAR.KAK. ZUR.BAR.KAK.-bi-šu ni-nigin-e.*

The gazelle together with her fawn he catches.

7. *Im-gim mu-un-ri-ri nim-gir-gim mu-un-gir-gir-ri*
Like the wind he storms, like lightning he flashes.
8. *Ea (En-ki kit) igi kar-kar dug-gi-eš mi-ni-ib-e-ne.*
Ea lifted up his eyes; he graciously drives them out.
9. *dingir Asaru igi; nin-ma-e; gin-na;*
(See Commentary below.)
10. *dingir Šagan tur dingir Babbar siba nin-ṇam-ma-kit*
Let Šagan (Nergal?), son of Šamaš, the shepherd of all
that is,
11. BAR.KAK. *edin-na ghul-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma.*
bring to thee a gazelle of the field.
12. *Nin-igi-lamga-bu, lamga gal an-na-kit,*
Let *Nin-igi-lamga-bu*, (Ea), the great *lamga* of heaven,
13. GIŠ.ŠUB *šu azag gim-ma-na ghul-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma.*
bring thee a bow made by pure hands.
14. BAR.KAK *edin-na gin-a igi dingir Babbar-šu u-me-ni-gub.*
Cause the gazelle that wanders in the field to stand before
Šamaš.
15. *Lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na GIŠ.ŠUB. u-me-ni-se.*
Give the bow to the king the son of his god.
16. *E-a-šu-nag-a-šu e-da-ni-ta,*
When he comes forth from the house of purification,
17. BAR.KAK. *igi dingir Babbar-šu ghe-en-sig-ga.*
let him smite the gazelle before Šamaš.
18. (Lugal)-e (?) BAR KAK.-ra GIŠ.ŠUB. *šu-bar-ra e-da-na,*
When the king shoots at the gazelle with the bow,
19. (Nam)-tar-a-sig *nin-gig nin-ak-a nin-ghul-gim-ma,*
the fated affliction which saps the strength, the disease, the
illness, the spell,
20. *nin-ghul i dingir Babbar su-a-na ni-gál (IK)-la;*
whatever of evil there was in his body at sunrise;
21. GIŠ.ŠUB.-*gim su-ni-ta(gha)-ba-an-tar-ru-da.*
like the bow (i. e. like the arrow of the bow) from his body
may it go forth.
22. *Lugal-e BAR.KAK.-ra GIŠ.ŠUB.ta -gi-la-a-ni-ta (?)*
When the king shoots (?) at the gazelle with the bow,
23. *Utug ghul A.LAL. ghul Nin-e ghe-en-sig-ga.*
may the evil demon, the evil *alû*, be appeased.
24. *edin-na-šu u-me-ni-bar.*
Let loose (the gazelle) into the field.

25. *edin-na-šu . . . e-da-ni-ta*,
 When (the gazelle) goes out into the field,
 26. *šu ra-ra-da-a-ni-ta*,
 (in the field?) when it takes up its abode,
 27. *ka ghul eme ghul*
 the evil mouth, the evil tongue
 28. *šu ghe-en-da-ra-ra*
 with it (?) may they take up their abode.
 29. *(u)-me-ni-el u-me-ni-e.*
 make him clean; may it go forth.
 30. (DU)G.BUR. *ni nun-na-gim*
 a vessel of stone (?) like butter
 31. SAG.KAL.
 the *Ašaridu*.
 32. SIG.(?) GI.DA.KAM
 ? ? ?

COMMENTARY.

1. *Gin-a-na*; lit. 'his going'; without preposition. The usual form is *gin-a-ni-ta*, as in Nr. 1, 10.

3. *Bir-anšu*; see Pinches' *Sign-list*, p. V. c. iii., line 26 = *immēru*. ŠA.DU. = *kirbītu* 'pasture,' Br. 8032.

In *mi-nib-dib-dib*, the infix *-nib* plainly supplements the object, i. e. it may be rendered 'them.' The usual infix for 'them' is *-nešin-*; see HT. p. 145, § 19.

4. For *Sikka*, cf. Br. 10901, and for *sikka-bur*, 10902. *Lulim* = 'wether, leader of a flock,' Br. 10722.

5. BAR.KAK = *gabītu*, Br. 1908. ZUR.BAR.KAK = *uzālu*, Br. 9074.

6. *Nigin* = *gaḍu* 'hunt,' Br. 10342.

7. *Mun-ri-ri* 'he storms,' cf. Br. 2581 = *zāqu*. *Gir-gir* = *barāqu*, Br. 305.

8. The sign KAR.GAN. must mean *našū* 'lift up' (*aganatēnu*, Br. 3172) in connection with *igi* 'face, eye.' For *duḡ-gi-eš*, see above on Nr. 2, 31.

9. This line consists of abbreviations of three formulae, i. e., perhaps: a) *Asaru igi-kar-kar* + ? ?

Marduk lift up thine eyes + ? ?

b) *Nin-ma-e ni-zu-a-mu za-e in-ma-e-zu*
Ša anāku idū atta tīdi

Whatsoever I know thou must know (also).

c) *Gin-na tura-mu dingir Asaru*

Ālik māri Marduk!

Go, my son Marduk! IV.R. 22, 7b. With these lines should be compared IV.R. 22, 1ff:—*Ea māršu Marduk ippal; māri mina lā tidi, mina luraddika? Ša anaku idā attā tidi; ālik māri Marduk*, etc. Ea spake unto his son M.; My son, what knowest thou not? what shall I add to thee? Whatsoever I know, thou must know, etc.

10. *dingir Šagan*, only Sb, 366 and IV.R. 28, 10a (see Br. 8975) = Nergal? (so Johnston). *Siba=rēu*, cf. Br. 5688.

11. Note the infix *-rab-* denoting the second person 'thee, to thee'; see IIT. p. 145, § 19. Incorporation of the pronominal object with the verb is of course well known in agglutinating and polysynthetic tongues; cf. Basque *ematen darotak* 'thou givest it to me' (*-t* 'me'); *Abenaki* (Algic dialect) *k'namiol* 'I see thee' (*k'*='thee').

12. *Nin-igi-lamga-bu*=*Ea*, Br. 11077; cf. IV.R. 18, 55a; 57a, etc.

The word *lamga*, if preceded by the determ. *lu*=*amēlu*=*nam-garu*, Br. 11165, and *lu Sin*, II.R. 47, 66e.

13. GIŠ.SUB.=*midpānu* 'bow,' Br. 1431. "Fashioned by pure hands"; cf. HT. 89, 46: *qē nabasi ša ina qāti . . . Ellitim ib-bab-lu* 'cords of wool (?) which are brought with a pure hand,' i. e., probably by hands made clean by a ritual of purification, like the formal cleansing of the modern Mohammedans.

14. *Gin-a*; note the *-a* ending, which may have the force of a postposition here.

16. Note the infix *-da-*, probably of locative force, in *e-da-ni-ta*, and cf. above on Nr. 1, 21.

17. PA(*sig*)=*maxācu* 'smite,' Br. 5576.

18. Literally: 'When the king at the gazelle a bow-loosening sends forth.' *Šu-bar*=*masāru* (*muššāru*), Br. 7111; *bar*=*muš-šāru*, 1774. *Šu-bar*, then, would mean 'hand loosening.'

19. *Nam-tar a(ID)-sig* (PA). *Nam-tar*=*šimtu* 'fate' *passim*. A(ID)-*sig*(PA)=*ašakku*, Br. 6592, i. e. a demon of baleful influence which saps away the strength of a patient with persistent force; hence the name, A 'strength' + *sig* 'smite, destroy'; viz., *ašakku ša amēla lā umaššaru* 'which does not leave a man'; cf. *Hdw.* 144.

20. *I dinir Babbar*. For *i=agā*, see Sc. 129 (Br. 3980); also *na'ādu*, Sc. 126.

21. For *-da* in *gha-bu-an-tar-ru-da*, cf. on Nr. 1, 21. *Tar=parāu*, Zb. 104, note.

22. It is impossible to make out the last combination in this line. The above translation is suggested by the context.

23. *Šig=damqu*, see above on Nr. 1, 27, and Br. 9446.

24. *U-me-ni-bar*. *Bar=uššāru (mašāru)* 'let loose,' Br. 1814 (see above on Nr. 3, 18).

25-28. As the gazelle takes up its abode in the field, the curse is to remain with the animal.

26. *Ra-ra=ramā*, Br. 6362; *ašābu*, 6355 'dwell.' It is possible that the *šu* in this line may represent the postposition *-ku(-šū)=ina*, although it is written here *ŠU=gatū* and not *-ku(-šū)*; cf. Sfg. p. 17; *e-a-ni-šu(QAT)=ana bitišu*.

30. DUG-BUR. is very difficult. *Dug-gu-bur=paaxāru* 'collect,' Br. 5894 ff. It is possible that *dug-bur* may be an error for this, as the character *dug* is not clear; perhaps the final wedges represent the end of *ga* (?). In this case the combination would be 'a gatherer of butter.' As it stands, *dug=karpatu* 'vessel,' Br. 5891, and *bur=abnu*, 6973. *Ni-nun-na=ximētu* 'butter,' Br. 5349.

This line may refer to some ceremony of anointing the king after his purification.

LIST OF SUMERIAN WORDS DISCUSSED IN THE COMMENTARY.

-a, 3, 14.	BAR.KAK., 3, 5.
ab, 1, 9.	bašin-, 1, 8.
abadab-, 1, 18.	-bi, 1, 16; 2, 33.
abadan-, 1, 11, 18.	bir, 1, 3.
abzu, 1, 23.	-da, 1, 21; 2, 32; 3, 21.
agubba, 1, 14.	-da-, 3, 16.
aka, 1, 11.	dara, 1, 8.
A. LAL., 1, 17.	de, 1, 7.
AN.ŠEŠ.KI., 1, 20.	dib, 2, 36.
anšu, 3, 3.	dim-ma, 1, 5.
AN.TU., 1, 20.	du, 1, 13.
a sig, 3, 19.	dub, 2, 30.
a-šu-nag-a, 1, 13.	dug, 2, 31.
babbar, 1, 20.	DUG.BUR., 3, 30.
badan-, 1, 11.	dug-ga-bur., 3, 30.
bar, 1, 26; 3, 24.	DUG.SAR., 1, 8.

E, 2, 43.
Ea, 1, 22.
el-bi, 2, 31.
En-ki-ga, 1, 22.
eš-ab, 1, 9.
eš (adverbial), 2, 31.
gaba, 1, 24.
ghaban-, 1, 19.
ghar, 2, 38.
gheimman-, 1, 24.
gekim, 1, 17.
ghenda-, 1, 20.
GI., 1, 13.
gibilla, 1, 14.
gin, 1, 10 ; 3, 1.
gir, 3, 7.
GIŠ.GHAR., 1, 9.
GIŠ.PA., 1, 6.
GIŠ.ŠUB., 3, 13.
gub, 1, 21 ; 26.
ghul, 2, 30.
ghumunib, 1, 31.
gur, 1, 16.
i, 3, 20.
igi-ni-šū, 1, 20.
ka, 1, 8.
ka + de, 2, 34.
kalam, 1, 27.
KA.MU.GAL., 1, 11.
kar, 3, 8.
ki-ri, 1, 19.
lagh, 1, 19 ; 20.
lamassu, 1, 27.
lu-a-dar-maš, 1, 2.
lulim, 3, 4.
lu-nam-erim-ma, 2, 36.
maš, 1, 7.
MU.KA.GA., 1, 22.
munanib-, 1, 7.
munantin-, 1, 7.
munib-, 2, 33.
nabašin-, 1, 8.
namba-, 1, 6.
nam-ku, 1, 7.

nam-šub, 1, 23.
nam-tar, 3, 19.
nam-tilla, 1, 21.
na-ri-ga, 1, 14.
-nib-, 1, 21 ; 3, 3.
nigin, 3, 6.
Nin-agma-kud-du, 2, 32.
nin-ak-a, 1, 18.
nin-ghul-gim-ma, 1, 18.
nin-igi-lumga-bu, 3, 12.
nun-me, 1, 11.
nu-un-zu-a, 1, 42.
ra, 3, 26.
rab, 3, 11.
ri, 3, 7.
sar, 1, 4.
se, 1, 23.
siba, 3, 10.
sidi, 1, 9.
Sig (PA.), 3, 17.
sikka, 3, 4.
simug, 1, 8.
Šagan, 3, 10.
Šeš-duggu, 1, 2.
ŠEŠ. GAL., 1, 13.
šig, 3, 23.
šigga, 1, 27.
-šu, 3, 26.
šub, 2, 40.
šu-bar, 3, 18.
šu-nag, 1, 13.
šu-u-me-ti, 2, 37.
-ta, 2, 43.
tag, 1, 7.
te, 1, 6.
TE.LAL., 1, 17.
tu, 1, 22 ; 23.
ugh, 2, 32.
umeni-, 2, 38.
umete-, 1, 16.
ur, 1, 18.
urud, 1, 7.
urugal, 1, 13.
utug, 1, 17 ; 27.

LIST OF MOST IMPORTANT ASSYRIAN WORDS.

abkallu, 1, 11.
ekimma, 1, 17.

alālu, 1, 14.
ēllu, 1, 14.

alû, 1, 17.

uḡurtu, 1, 9 ; 2, 44.

érû, 1, 9.

urîḡu, 1, 3.

arâru, 1, 18.

aršašû, 1, 18.

urtu, 1, 11.

ašalku, 3, 19.

ešêru, 1, 9.

ašru, 1, 19.

gallû, 1, 17.

ḍapâru, 1, 16.

ṭerû, 1, 6.

ṭipâru, 1, 14.

naḍû, 1, 23 ; 2, 40.

rû'tu, 1, 18.

risnu, 1, 13.

šuatû, 1, 16.

šimtu, 1, 7.

têliltu, 1, 14.

têrtu, 1, 11.

The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning, with especial reference to the Customs of the Ancient Hebrews.—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

IN a paper prepared for the meeting of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions in 1898, and now published in No. 1 of the papers of that section,¹ I discussed the significance of the custom of placing dust on the head as a symbol of mourning or sign of grief among the ancient Hebrews and other peoples. Incidentally, another custom no less prominent was touched upon, namely, the tearing of garments. This custom merits an independent investigation. As in the former paper, I will confine myself largely to the customs of the ancient Hebrews, though the results of the investigation apply to other nations among whom the custom exists.

The tearing of garments and the putting on of sackcloth are so frequently mentioned together in the Old Testament as to make it evident that the two rites are closely connected with one another. It is sufficient for our purposes to refer to such passages as the following: (1) Gen. xxxvii. 34, where Jacob, upon learning that Joseph is dead, tears his garments and places sackcloth around his loins. (2) 1 Kings xxi. 27, where Ahab, after listening to the denunciation and gloomy prophecy of Elijah, tears his garments as a sign of grief and puts sackcloth on his body (בִּשְׂרוֹ). (3) Esther iv. 1, where Mordecai, in grief at the evil fate in store for the Jews, tears his garments and clothes himself in sackcloth and ashes. (4) 2 Sam. iii. 31, where on the occasion of Abner's death David says to Joab and to all the people, "Tear your garments and gird yourselves with sackcloth." (5) 2 Kings vi. 30, Joram the son of Ahab tears his garments and appears before the people with sackcloth on his body underneath (עַל-בִּשְׂרוֹ מִבֵּית). (6) 2 Kings xix. 1 (parallel passage, Is. xxxvii. 1), Hezekiah in deep distress at the impending advance of Sennacherib against Jerusalem tears his garments and covers

¹ Corresponding to JAOS. xx. 1, pp. 133-150: "Dust, Earth, and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning among the Ancient Hebrews."

himself with sackcloth. It is true that frequently the 'tearing of garments' is mentioned without the 'putting on of sackcloth' (e. g. Ezra ix. 3., Num. xiv. 6), and *vice versa*; and that the 'tearing of garments' is also joined to other symbolical expressions of mourning, grief, or distress, such as fasting (Ezra ix. 5), putting dust on the head (2 Sam. i. 2), plucking the hair or beard (Ezra ix. 3), and the like. Still, the fact that in so many passages the two customs under consideration are united is significant, as is also the circumstance that when thus combined, the tearing is invariably mentioned first. The one act appears to be preparatory to the other.

The verb employed for indicating this tearing is קרע, and an examination of its use shows conclusively that a violent action of tearing is denoted by it. 1 Sam. xv. 28, Samuel announces to Saul, קרע יהוה את ממלכות ישראל מעליך; which clearly means, "Yahwe has wrenched from thee the rulership over Israel." Similarly, 2 Kings xvii. 21, כי קרע ישראל מעל בית דוד; "For he has torn Israel away from the house of David," i. e., has torn asunder the bond uniting the two. One may also consult 1 Kings xi. 11, 1 Sam. xxviii. 17, and more particularly 2 Kings ii. 12, where it is said of Elisha, upon seeing the ascension of Elijah, ויחזק בבגדיו ויקרעם לשנים קרעים; "He took hold of his garments and tore them in two (lit. in two tears)." The verb קרע, therefore, in connection with the 'tearing' of the garments implies more than making a mere rent in one's clothes, and may be used to indicate tearing them off one's body—a violent removal. If this be so, we should expect to find evidence that it was once customary as a symbol of mourning to strip oneself of one's garments entirely. Such evidence is indeed forthcoming, and Schwally¹ has already called attention to it, though he has failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the custom. In the first chapter of Micah, the prophet pictures the coming annihilation of the northern kingdom, which arouses in him a profound sense of grief:

"Therefore I will lament and howl,
Go about barefooted and naked,
Start a lament like the jackals,
A mourning like ostriches" (v. 8).

¹ *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel*, pp. 13-14.

The terms used—אַסְפָּדָה, אֵילִ'לָה, מִסְפָּד—are the ones commonly employed for indicating the lament for the dead, and the reference to going about 'barefooted'¹ and 'naked' would therefore be out of place, if the custom of stripping oneself did not at one time exist. Is. xx. 2-4 may be quoted as confirmatory evidence. The prophet is ordered, by way of furnishing an external symbol of his grief at impending misfortune, to remove the simple sackcloth which covers his loins, to take off the sandals from his feet, and go about "naked and barefooted."

There are indications that among the ancient Arabs likewise the custom prevailed of stripping oneself as a sign of mourning and distress. In the *Kitab al-Aghani*, there is a story of a woman who in her grief removes her clothing; of a certain Musab b. al-Zubair it is related that he followed a corpse, stripped of his lower garments; and a woman who warns her people of some impending disaster takes off her garments and cries out, "I am the naked warner."² The Hebrew custom may therefore be regarded as the survival of an observance common to at least several branches of the Semites. Naturally a custom of this kind could not have prevailed as a general one after an era of refinement had set in, though it may still have been resorted to on extraordinary occasions. Even though it be assumed that an Isaiah did not go about *entirely* naked, the main point involved, which is the use of a term indicating the removal of one's clothes, is not affected by this consideration. The figure would lose its force if it did not correspond to what at one time was a reality.

The substitution of the sackcloth in place of the ordinary garments represents the concession made to the ancient custom of stripping oneself, by an age which, through its refinement, gradually came to look upon nakedness as a synonym for disgrace and dishonor. Viewed in this light, the frequent juxtaposition in the O. T. of the tearing, or rather tearing off, of the garments and the girding on of sackcloth becomes intelligible. Scholars are now generally agreed that the *saq* was originally a loin-cloth³ made of

¹ The custom of going about barefooted in times of grief appears to have survived to a late date, as is shown by Ezekiel xxiv. 17. See also 2 Sam. xv. 30.

² All these examples are furnished by Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 107.

³ See the passages quoted by Schwally, *ib.* p. 11.

coarse stuff and hanging down from the loins to cover these parts of the body which in the eyes of the Semites constitute one's 'nakedness' *par excellence*. If we may be permitted to draw a conclusion from the customs prevailing among people living in a primitive state of culture, it is precisely such a loin-cloth which constitutes the simplest kind of dress, the one most naturally resorted to, and therefore presumably coeval with the beginning of dress in general, viewed as an adornment and not as a mere protection against physical discomfort. The Biblical tradition preserves the recollection of these simple beginnings of dress, for the **תַּגְרִית** mentioned Gen. iii. 7 and commonly rendered "aprons" are in reality garments hung around the loins.¹ There seems to be no reason to doubt that the dress of the Mohammedan pilgrim known as *ihram*,² which he substitutes for his ordinary clothes upon approaching the sacred precinct of Mecca, is but a modification of the *saq*, consisting as it does of a piece of cloth which is wrapped around the loins and hangs down from the knees, and to which another sheet thrown over the back is attached. This modification represents a further concession demanded by the spread of more refined customs, while the express stipulation that one shoulder and arm must be bare is an indication that the original purpose of the upper garment was not to serve as a covering for the whole body. In this second stage, then, the custom of the mourners was to divest themselves of their ordinary clothes consisting of an upper and lower garment, and, discarding the upper covering entirely, to gird themselves with a cloth hanging down from the loins. In the combination of the tearing of garments with the putting on of sackcloth, the former act represents the preparation for the latter, and the essential feature of the observance is the return at a time of grief and distress to the fashions prevailing in more primitive days.

Among the Babylonians also we have traces of the existence of this custom. In my article "Earth, Dust, and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning"³ I have called attention to the scene depicted in one of the sections of the famous "Stele of Vultures" where

¹ In the days of Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen, 1772, p. 64) still the dress of some Arab clans.

² I. e., sacred dress. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, vol. 2, chap. xii. (p. 279 of Tauchnitz's edition).

³ *L. c.*, p. 142.

attendants occupied in burying the dead are stripped bare to the waist and have a cloth around the loins which hangs down to the knees. The scene enables us to proceed further in the explanation of the mourning garb. Whether the attendants are relatives or priests or merely servants is of little moment as compared with the fact, now admitted by most scholars, that they are actually engaged in the burial of the dead, or at all events in some act connected with the burial. The mourning garb is originally the costume prescribed for those who are concerned with the disposal of the dead ; and since, as the Old Testament and other ancient sources show, it is ordinarily the immediate relatives ¹ who conduct the preparations for the funeral, the funeral garb is naturally identical with the mourning costume. In the article referred to, I have similarly explained the custom of placing earth or dust on the head, as a sign of mourning due to a ceremony, originally connected with the act of earth burial, which involved the building of a mound over the spot where the dead was deposited, the earth for this purpose being carried in a basket and the basket itself placed on the head, where burdens are commonly carried, both in the ancient and the modern Orient.

Coming back to our subject, the question still remains to be answered as to the reason for the original custom of stripping oneself as a sign of mourning, and for the modification of this custom which represents the return to a primitive form of dress. Schwally² has properly protested against the method which seeks the explanation of popular customs, such as the one under consideration, in psychological motives. Weeping is a natural expression of emotion, and among people unaccustomed to any restraint of their feelings we can understand that a tendency should exist to tear out the hair under the influence of extreme grief ; but the removal of the clothes or the putting of dust on the head are clearly symbolical acts, and must be accounted for in some other way than as a manifestation of humility or as a natural expression of grief. I venture to suggest that the tearing off of the clothes, as well as the return to a simpler form of dress, is an illustration of the fact well known to students of the history of religions, that in religious rites there is in general a marked inclination to return to primitive fashions and earlier

¹ So to this day in the Orient.

² *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 10.

modes of life ; to re-adopt, as it were, the ways and manners of by-gone days. Religious customs are apt to be a stage or several stages behind the customs of every-day life, and this fact holds good for dress as for other things. Let me add a few illustrations. Reference has already been made to the custom of the Mohammedan pilgrim, who on approaching Mecca removes his sandals and ordinary garb in order to put on garments that are clearly survivals of earlier fashions in dress.¹ Sandals represent a comparatively advanced fashion in the Orient, and hence when one enters a sacred place, a spot sanctified by religious associations, he returns to the simpler habits of his ancestors and goes about barefooted. To this day the Mohammedan leaves his sandals at the door of the Mosque before entering it. The command given to Moses to take off his sandals upon approaching the burning bush—sacred because of the presence of Yahwe in the fire (Ex. iii. 5 ; see also Joshua v. 15)—belongs to the same category of ideas. According to a tradition the correctness of which there is no reason to question, the priests in the temple at Jerusalem, and presumably therefore in the older local sanctuaries of Palestine, performed their service barefooted.² If this view be correct, we should expect that at an age when the common dress consisted of only a single garment thrown around the loins—according to Niebuhr still the custom among certain Arab clans—in the performance of religious rites this garment would be removed. There is actually a tradition current among the Arabs that it was customary at one time to perform the circuits around the Kaaba completely stripped. Wellhausen³ mentions the tradition. Besides Sura vii. 29, to which he refers, there is an important reference to it in Bokhari's collection of traditions⁴ which has been overlooked. On the occasion of Mohammed's last visit to the Kaaba, he expressly forbade that any one should "make the circuit of the holy house naked." The prohibition would have no

¹ Burton (*l. c.*, II. p. 279) commenting on the antiquity of this dress, known technically as the *izâr*, mentions that it is still the common dress of the people in regions lying to the west of the Red Sea.

² To this day in orthodox synagogues, those members of the congregation who, as supposed descendants of Aaron, have the privilege of blessing the worshippers, remove their shoes before stepping in front of the ark which contains the scrolls of the law.

³ *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 106.

⁴ Ed. Krehl, I. p. 105.

meaning had the custom not been common in his days. Moreover, the explanation which Wellhausen offers for the curious custom, as though it were due to refusal or inability on the part of the pilgrims to hire suitable clothes from the Koreish, under whose tutelage the Kaaba stood, seems to me to miss the point completely. Robertson Smith¹ follows Wellhausen in making the appearance of the worshipper in a sanctuary without clothes an alternative to appearing in a special garb, borrowed from the priest, as was the case in the sanctuary of al-Jalsad, or obtained in some other way. According to this point of view, the question of *taboo* is primarily involved. The ordinary clothes would become unfit for further use, by contact with holy objects; hence other clothes must be provided. In connection with the subject, Robertson Smith brings forward the numerous allusions in the Old Testament and in Arabic literature, as well as examples from other nations than Semites, in which a change of garments is prescribed as an essential condition before approaching the presence of a deity.

It seems to me, however, that the two customs, the appearance at a sanctuary without clothes, and the appearance in different clothes, must be kept apart. At all events, it is inconceivable that at a time when, from whatever motives, religious practices prescribed a *change* of garments upon approaching a deity, the custom of appearing naked should have arisen as an alternative. 'Nakedness' is not looked upon with favor, as a general thing, by the Semites. The ideas associated with it in Semitic diction are 'shame' and 'disgrace,' and such conceptions of nakedness appear to be quite as ancient as the ordinance to change the clothes before coming to a sacred spot. If, therefore, we find the custom of appearing naked before a deity vouched for, it must have been due to other factors entering into play; and I believe that the tendency, above noted, to return to by-gone fashions in the case of religious observances constitutes one of these factors, and indeed the main factor. I would place the custom of appearing naked before a deity in the same category with that of appearing barefooted in a holy place. Through my colleague, Prof. Lamberton, of the University of Pennsylvania, my attention was directed to the passage in the Iliad, xvi. 234-235, from which it appears that among the Greeks, primitive customs were retained

¹ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 432 (1st ed.).

in connection with religious rites. The Dodonean priests went barefooted, and slept on the ground. They carried their retention of primitive habits to the extent of not even washing their feet. Leaf, in his note on the passage,¹ properly explains the retention of such customs as due to the phenomenon of religious conservatism, and instances as a parallel the use of stone knives in sacrifice² long after they had gone out of use for the needs of ordinary life. The same observation may be made in the case of the priests of Egypt, who in the days of the Middle Empire retain a skirt of a very ancient pattern; and Erman expressly notes³ that this conservative trait in the matter of dress is even more noticeable when we reach the period of the New Empire, the priests of which wear a costume that dates back to the 4th dynasty. The mantle or double dress is never assumed by them. The long, wide skirt which is the common fashion in the Middle Empire survives among the priests of the New Empire, while during the Middle Empire the priests are again distinguished by the fashion of the narrow, short skirt which belongs to the Old Empire. They thus always lagged behind the fashions of the day. At funeral services, the conservative principle is even more pronounced, for the officiating priest wears the panther skin, which takes us back to the most primitive and rudest style of dress.

Carrying this principle to its logical issue, we reach the thesis for which I enter a plea, that there exists a general tendency in religious observances to revert to (or as we might also put it, to retain) the ways and manners of an earlier age. That in the process some customs involving a return to earlier fashions should have survived without change, while in others modifications were introduced, is perfectly natural. Such a custom as the requirement to appear barefooted might be retained to a late date because it was compatible with even advanced ideas of refinement. Its observance did not involve uncovering that portion of the body which was more particularly regarded as a person's 'nakedness,' and only when in addition to the shoe or sandal a special covering for the leg and foot became customary, might a compromise

¹ *The Iliad*, vol. ii. p. 143.

² So also in the rite of circumcision, in the performance of which the flint blade is still used in Egypt.

³ Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Engl. transl., London, 1894), pp. 296-297.

be effected which permitted the retention of the stocking.¹ On the other hand, the custom of stripping oneself at a time of grief would soon yield to compromises suggested by the growing sense of decency, and would only be resorted to on extraordinary occasions. The first step in this compromise would be to gird on a loin-cloth. From the passage Is. xx. 2-4 it appears that the prophet's ordinary clothes consisted merely of a loin-cloth and sandals, and from other testimony we know that the dress of the seers was of a much simpler character than that worn by other persons. The Mohammedan *ihrām* represents another form of this compromise. From this point of view there is no *specific* mourning garb, there is merely the general tendency when engaged in any religious observance—prayer, pilgrimage, expiatory rites, or occupation with the dead—to return to more primitive fashions in dress, in accord with the general conservative character inherent in matters connected with religion. In the chapter of Bokhari's collection of traditions already referred to, the question as to the kind of dress which is proper for prayer is fully discussed.² Mohammed himself did not prescribe any special dress; but in view of the changes in fashions which had been introduced in the course of time, and the variety of fashions prevailing in the Islamic world, it is significant that in this discussion great stress is laid upon wearing only *one* garment during the devotions; in evident contrast to the ordinary costume, which consisted of two garments. Various traditions likewise voice a protest against wearing ornamented clothes during prayer, the objection being urged that they distract the attention of the worshipper from his prayers. It is hardly necessary to point out, however, that this cannot be the real reason for the objection. The whole course of the discussion shows that the chief point involved is the contrast between by-gone and present fashions in dress; and the question raised throughout is, whether in prayer present fashions in dress are permissible. The general tendency is to decide the question in favor of the simpler costumes of former days, as more appropriate for wear during one's devotions. In Mohammed's day, upper garments in addition to lower

¹ So in orthodox synagogues at the present time, the descendants of the priests when blessing the congregation only remove their shoes (see note above, p. 28).

² Ed. Krehl, i. pp. 104-107.

ones were already common ; but a tradition is recorded that when engaged in prayer, the prophet bared his arms and threw his cloak over his shoulders.¹ There appears indeed to have been a doubt in the minds of some whether it was proper to keep the sandals on during prayer, and a tradition is introduced to settle the question, which declares that the prophet was in the habit of praying with his sandals on his feet.² However these and other questions were settled, the mere fact that they were raised illustrates the general disposition to revert to simpler fashions of dress, or at least to imitate such fashions, when engaged in religious observances. With the introduction of more elaborate fashions, the aversion to uncovering any considerable part of the body would become more pronounced ; and this feeling, too, is foreshadowed in Bokhari's chapter on prayer, where some of the traditions maintain that the garment should cover the whole body. By a further extension of this process, we reach the stage in which the essential feature of dress on religious occasions is its general differentiation from the costume of everyday life, rather than a return to any particular fashion. Customs, as is well known, not only survive but undergo modifications long after their original purport has been forgotten ; and so in the course of time a form of dress might be prescribed for sacred occasions which would contradict the basic principle of a return to simpler fashions. We do not meet with this stage in Islam, but a noteworthy instance of such a development is the dress prescribed for the priests in the Old Testament, which while preserving perhaps some features of earlier fashions, is on the whole certainly more elaborate than the garments worn in ordinary life. Again, the still more elaborate costumes prescribed for the priests and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Roman Catholic church may be regarded as illustrating the extent to which the process may be carried by the introduction of new factors. The passages adduced by Robertson Smith³ from the Old Testament and elsewhere are therefore interesting as showing how early the thought that it was essential to appear before a deity in a different garb from that worn in everyday life took a firm hold and tended gradually to set aside the earlier

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

² For all that, the custom prevails at present to remove the sandals before entering a mosque.

³ *Op. cit.*

principle that the religious dress was to be marked by its conservative character. But this circumstance does not justify us in placing 'no clothes' and 'different clothes' side by side as though they were alternatives. If Robertson Smith is correct in supposing the direction to change the clothes before coming to a sacred spot to be due to prevailing notions of taboo, then we must seek for a different order of ideas as the basis of the command to appear naked. As has already been remarked, it is difficult to conceive how two such different customs could have arisen at the same time. The custom of appearing naked in the religious ceremonial impresses one as more archaic than the other. As a 'survival' we can account for its being resorted to occasionally even after the custom of changing the clothes, for reasons of taboo or for any other cause, was in vogue; but this supposition implies—and upon this alone stress is laid here—that the two customs are entirely independent of one another, being produced through two different orders of ideas; or, if this seems to be going too far, we may at least say that the custom of changing the clothes grew out of the earlier one through the introduction of new factors. A support for this view is to be found again in Babylonian monuments belonging to the oldest period, on which worshippers are depicted in a naked state;¹ while the second stage, in which the worshipper has recourse to a simple loin-cloth and divests himself of his ordinary clothes, is also represented, as has already been pointed out.²

This return to simpler and more primitive fashions may be observed in other funeral and mourning rites of the Semites. Among Arabs and Hebrews in the days of mourning, the couch on which the mourner ordinarily sits and sleeps is forsaken, and he crouches on the floor; a return to the period when couches did not yet form a staple article of furniture. The association of ideas of humility with the custom belongs to a later age which in a self-conscious spirit sought for an interpretation of traditional observances, the real purport of which was no longer understood. Similarly, the removing of all ornaments from the hair and body, and the general neglect of the person, in days of mourning, vouched for in the case of the ancient Hebrews by various passages in the Old Testament, and still observed among the modern

¹ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 666.

² See above, p. 26 f.

Egyptians and elsewhere in the Orient, is due in the first instance not to any inherent aversion to display in days of distress, but to this same tendency to re-adopt the simpler forms of life that belong to a past age. Precisely the same instructions—not to bathe, nor to adorn himself—are prescribed for the Mohammedan pilgrim during the time that he is engaged in performing his religious duties at the Kaaba and the surrounding sacred places. It can hardly be argued that the pilgrimage is a ceremony of expiation, and that for this reason regulations of abstinence are prescribed, for there is no trace of any such idea connected with it in any of the Arabic writers. If however we consider that the visit to the Kaaba (like the visiting of sacred places in general) is an exceedingly old rite antedating the period of elaborate dress and adornment of the person, observed in an age which did not yet enjoy the luxury or feel the necessity of personal cleanliness, or of living in agreeable and comfortable surroundings, we can recognize here the tendency of the participant in a religious rite to transport himself back to the earlier age, and make every effort in his power to observe the ceremonies under the same conditions and in the same way as his remote ancestors.

My contention then is, that the tearing off of the clothing is not primarily a funeral or mourning custom specifically, but a ceremony observed in connection with religious rites in general, prompted by the general tendency to preserve in such ceremonies the fashions of primitive days. At a time when the ordinary garment consisted of a simple cloth thrown around the loins, the participant in the rite removed this cloth and returned to a state of nature, upon entering the presence of a deity or on approaching a sacred spot, or in burying the dead. Later, when the ordinary dress consisted of two or more garments, he returned on the occasion of performing a religious act—be it a pilgrimage, a burial, or what not—to more primitive fashions, by throwing off the upper garment and going about in the simple loin-cloth; or, in a more advanced stage of refinement, by baring merely a portion of the body—arms, shoulders and feet. The custom of priests among various ancient nations to go about barefooted belongs to this category, as does the retention of sandals among certain Catholic orders in these days when the shoe represents the common covering for the foot.

Since from this point of view the stripping off of the garments or the girding on of the loin cloth was not originally a specific

mourning custom, but became so merely from the fact that the funeral rites necessarily had a religious character, we can understand that there were other occasions among the Hebrews besides the death of a relative when the custom was resorted to. Attention has been called to the fact that the Hebrew seers at one time went about naked. The example of Saul¹ shows that 'stripping off the garments' was an act preliminary to 'prophesying,' and hence even at a later age the prophet's garb is characterized as more primitive than the ordinary fashions of the day. It is clearly because 'prophecy' is a religious act that 'nakedness' is associated with it.

From such an application of the custom must be disassociated the girding of sackcloth around the loins as a genuine symbol of humility and submission; as e. g., when the servants of Ben-Hadad come to appeal for mercy to King Ahab, they are depicted with sackcloth around their loins and ropes on their heads (1 Kings xx. 31). Such an act is at the other end of the chain, directly dependent upon the use of sackcloth as a symbol of mourning, and contemporaneous with the period when the custom of tearing off the garments had become specifically associated with mourning for a lost relative. The garb of mourning naturally becomes also the symbol of distress in general, and distress is of necessity involved in a display of submission or in an appeal for mercy. Hence also the messenger who brings the news of death or of some other calamity, or the one who announces an impending misfortune, tears his garments and girds himself with the loin-cloth; and similarly persons in distress strip off their garments (Num. xiv. 6; 2 Kings v. 8) or tear their tunics, and have recourse to that other mourning symbol, the placing of earth or dust on the head (1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2, xv. 32); or they appear with their beards disfigured, with torn garments, and with incisions in their bodies (Jer. xli. 5). We can also understand how, in the course of further development, the feeling of indignation should come to be manifested by similar acts.²

In all these instances we are obliged to assume that the tearing off of the clothes and the putting on of sackcloth were

¹ 1 Sam. xix. 24, "And he stripped off his clothes, and prophesied before Samuel, and he lay naked all that day and all that night," &c.

² See my article, "Earth, Dust and Ashes," &c., p. 147.

old established customs, which had come to be specifically regarded as symbols of mourning, and then were still further extended to other occasions. Be it emphasized once more that popular customs persist in their vigor long after their original purport is forgotten. Becoming merely or specifically symbols of mourning, it is easy to see how the tearing off of the garments should become disassociated from the act to which it was once preliminary—the girding on of the sackcloth—and that both should continue to exist independent of each other. It seems necessary, however, to assume certain intermediate stages before this separation of the two customs was brought about. The tearing off of the garments was gradually transformed into a mere tearing of the garments; and the sackcloth, instead of constituting the *only* article of clothing worn in days of mourning or on occasions of distress, became a supplementary garment worn either underneath the ordinary clothes or even over them. The Jews in Persia still tear off their upper garment in the time of mourning and bare themselves to the waist; but elsewhere in the Orient it was the custom, as early as the days of Jesus, merely to tear off a piece of the garment, and this custom was still further modified until a mere rent in a seam was regarded as answering all requirements. With this transformation of the ‘tearing off’ into the mere ‘tearing,’ the way was prepared for the complete separation of the tearing of the garments from the putting on of the loin-cloth; and that this separation was already brought about in pre-exilic days follows from the passages to which direct or indirect reference has been made, in which the one custom is recorded without reference to the other. A curious result of this separation is the prominence which the tearing or tearing off of the garments—originally subsidiary and merely the preliminary act—acquires as against the girding on of the loin-cloth. While the latter continues in force as a symbol of mourning and then of distress, grief and humility in general, the tearing of garments in combination with other symbols of mourning or grief is far more frequently introduced. In post-Biblical literature we hear but little of the putting of sackcloth around the loins, whereas the tearing of garments continues in force and survives at the present day among orthodox Jews (in both Orient and Occident) in the conventional rent made in the coat on the occasion of the death of a relative.

It has already been pointed out that appearing in different clothes on occasions of a religious character belongs to a different category of ideas from the tearing off of the garments with the various modifications which this custom has undergone; and while it lies beyond the province of this paper to investigate further what relation, if any, exists between the two customs, it is not impossible that the growth of refinement and the advance of the æsthetic sense should have tended toward the substitution of the change of the clothes for the mutilation of them, as a more appropriate means of manifesting grief. Of course such a substitution could not have taken place until the time when the conscious return to more primitive fashions in days of mourning no longer played any part. On the other hand, foreign influences may also have been at work in bringing about the custom of having a special mourning garb. Among the Chinese, as is well known, the colors appropriate for mourning are white, brown and yellow, and the putting on of the mourning garb is an elaborate ceremony undertaken on the seventh day after the death of a near relative.¹ The sons of a deceased father put on garments made of hemp of the natural color, which are worn over the ordinary clothes; the grandsons are distinguished by hemp cloth of a yellowish tinge. No red garments or silks or satins are permitted for three years. With the custom of special garments for the mourners are also connected observances emphasizing the same principle of a return to by-gone fashions. So for 49 or 60 days the mourners do not sleep in beds nor sit on chairs. The hempen garments of the natural color and the yellow garments are exchanged at certain intervals or on stated occasions for white cotton clothes and brown sackcloth, again placed over the ordinary garments.¹ Among the Greeks, we find special garments prescribed for the priests; the long chiton, white or purple, the latter being set aside for occasions when the gods of the nether world were invoked, while again other garments were prescribed for festivals.² For the people in general dark clothes were prescribed in post-Homeric times as appropriate in days of mourn-

¹ For further details see Doolittle, *Social Life among the Chinese*, Vol. i., p. 183 f.

² Stengel und Oehmichen, *Griechische Sakralalterthümer*, p. 88.

ing¹; and while no great stress appears to have been laid upon the observance, it is from the Greeks, as would appear, that the present Occidental custom of wearing dark (and then black) clothes as a sign of mourning was derived.² The Book of Judith (viii. 5, τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς χηρείσεως) furnishes the evidence that in the second century B. C. it was customary for widows in Palestine to wear a special mourning dress for the space of several years, while beneath this they continued to wear the loin-cloth. This combination of the earlier with what is clearly a later fashion is a curious illustration of the compromise between religious conservatism and the fashion plate. To both influences women have been at all times more subject than men, and since we do not find at any time a special mourning dress prescribed for men among the Hebrews, there are strong reasons for suspecting foreign influence as at least one factor in accounting for the introduction of the 'widow's weeds' in Palestine. The character of Judith, in the book of that name, is modelled in part upon that of Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Judah, as depicted in Genesis, chap. xxxviii;³ and since the story in Genesis in its present form is at least some centuries earlier than the Book of Judith, the reference to "garments of widowhood" in Gen. xxxviii. 14 obliges us to carry back the custom to a still earlier period. Still, even this does not preclude foreign influence. The close contact existing among the various nations of antiquity through commercial and political intercourse from at least the period of Persian supremacy rendered the Hebrews in post-exilic days peculiarly subject to the attraction of fashions prevailing outside of Palestine; and so far as the Arabs are concerned, their ancient customs underwent profound modifications and transformations long before the advent of Mohammed.

¹ Busolt, Bauer, und Müller, *Griechische Staats- Kriegs- und Privat-alterthümer*, p. 423. Ashes, too, were smeared over the clothes (*ib.*, 462^a).

² Dark blue clothes are already mentioned in the Iliad (xxiv., 94) for occasions of mourning; in the Persian period, all relatives of the deceased wear dark clothes. Busolt, *ib.*, 463b.)

³ Both Judith and Tamar are widows. Tamar is a 'J'hudith' by virtue of her relationship to Judah. Like Judith (x. 3, 4), Tamar removes her garments of widowhood (בְּגָדֵי אֵלְמְנוּתָהּ); cf. Judith viii. 5) and ornaments her person (Gen. xxxviii. 14). She offers herself to Judah (vs. 15); Judith offers herself to Holophernes (xii. 16-18.)

As a result of this investigation, I venture to claim that the custom of removing the ordinary clothing and returning to the simpler fashions of by-gone days is the specifically Hebrew mourning custom, to be accounted for by the general tendency to maintain old fashions in religious ceremonies. On the other hand, the appearing in different clothes in the days of mourning, so far as it existed among Hebrews and Arabs, is due to the working of different factors, among which the influence of similar customs among various other nations of antiquity is to be taken into consideration. The older and specifically Hebrew (or perhaps general Semitic) custom passes through various phases of development, and leaves its traces in the mourning rites of modern Jews and modern Arabs ; whereas the other custom, the special mourning garb, is only met with sporadically among the Hebrews, and never became general either with Hebrews or Arabs, or, for that matter, with any branch of the ancient Semites so far as is known.

Of course this thesis does not preclude the possibility of a merging of mourning rites drawn from various parts of the world. Indeed, there is a curious parallel in the modern Orient to the Occidental custom of wearing a mourning band around the hat. This custom is now limited to males, and formerly long streamers were attached to the band ; but in Egypt female relatives at a time of mourning bind a strip of linen or cotton stuff or muslin—generally of a blue color—around the head, with the ends hanging down the back.¹ The custom appears to be an old one in Egypt, for in the funeral scenes depicted on the walls of ancient Egyptian tombs we find women with a similar band around the head. Whether the hat- or head-band is a modification of the special mourning dress, is a question into which we cannot enter, nor is there enough material at hand for deciding it ; but the presence of the same custom in the modern Orient and Occident illustrates the readiness with which the mourning customs of one country pass over to another. There is no occasion for surprise, therefore, at finding one and the same people employing two such different methods of symbolizing grief as the mutilating of garments and the providing of special garbs for occasions of mourning ; nor is it surprising even to find both methods combined and resorted to by one and the same individual.

¹ Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (London, 1836), ii. p. 293.

The Influence of Persian Literature on the German Poet Platen.—By ARTHUR F. J. REMY, A.M., of Columbia University, N. Y. City.

ONLY a brief outline will here be given of this paper, which itself was presented in abstract. It gave the partial results of an investigation of the general subject of 'The Influence of India and Persia upon German Poetry.' The investigation itself is to be published as a monograph in the course of the year.

Attention was first called to the ghazal-form in Persian poetry and its earliest appearance in German literature with Rückert in 1821. After this had been given as an introduction, the article turned directly to a discussion of Platen's *Ghaselen*. Reasons were given for confining the discussion to those *Ghaselen* that appeared in the years 1821 and 1822. Especial stress was laid on the fact that the ghazals of 1824 were oriental only in form, and were, therefore, not considered in the brief abstract.

The article then went on to show that Platen's *Ghaselen* are not translations from the Persian, but that they are really original productions 'dem Hafis nachgeföhlt und nachgedichtet,' much in the same manner as Goethe's divan-poems. They were shown to follow as closely as possible the technical rules of Persian verse, and were found to make use throughout of Persian images and metaphors, in fact to be modelled closely after the ghazals of Hāfiz. Parallels were adduced from Hāfiz's odes themselves to bear out this statement with regard to the usage of rhetorical figures. Out of numerous illustrations which were cited only one need here be given. It is chosen to show with what freedom Platen imitated his oriental models. In the 13th *Ghasale* (Cotta ed., Stuttgart, Vol. II, p. 11) Platen has:

'Schenke ! Tulpen sind wie Kelche Weines,
Gieb den Freunden, gieb sie hin, die Tulpe !'

This, it was suggested, probably drew its inspiration from such a line as Hāfiz, Ode 541 (Brockhaus ed., Leipzig, 1863)

ساقی بیا که شد قدح لاله پر ز مئی

‘Sāki come, for the goblet of the tulip has become filled with wine.’

A paragraph was then devoted to a number of similes in Platen’s poems which fully catch the Persian spirit, but for which no close parallel had yet been found in that part of Persian poetry which had been examined in the investigation as likely to have been accessible to Platen. The interest of such similes, it was pointed out, lies in the fact that they show how much the occidental poet had come under the oriental influence.

Yet not only in spirit, but also in form, these poems were proved to be close imitations of Hāfiz’s odes. In those ghazals called ‘*Spiegel des Hafis*’ Platen, after the manner of Persian poets, even regularly introduces the name *Hafis* into the last couplet of his German imitations. End-rhymes of one and two syllables are naturally common enough, but the peculiarly characteristic Persian rhymes which extend to several syllables or even to a whole phrase were found to be very frequent,—again a direct importation from the East. To illustrate how successfully

Platen reproduces the رَدیف or refrain, so familiar to readers of Hāfiz, the writer selected *Ghasele* 8 (Vol. II., p. 9). In this the words ‘du liebst mich nicht,’ for example, are always repeated, preceded successively by ‘zerrissen, wissen, beflissen, gewissen, vermessen, Narzissen’ exactly in the style of such an ode as ode 100 in Hāfiz.

On the Relative Chronology of the Vedic Hymns.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

LET us say that the number of metrical stanzas in the Vedic literature, aside from variant forms of the same stanza, amounts to 20,000 more or less. The subject-matter of these stanzas varies very greatly; there is considerable difference of style, grammar, and lexicon; the metres, though in the main the same, are handled with varying degrees of adhesion to what seem to be the metrical laws; the stanzas as collected into the traditional hymns of the redactors are by no means always engaged with the same theme within one and the same hymn; and a lively tradition reports a considerable number of ancient sages (*ṛṣis*) as the authors of a great many of these stanzas. It is not possible that one author should have composed these stanzas by himself during his lifetime, nor is it possible that a coterie or school of authors of a comparatively brief period represent both the alpha and the omega of authorship in these fields.

The nature of Vedic chronology—if we may speak of any at all—precludes any attempt to fix the date of individual hymns, or the different types and styles of hymns, either by calendar or dynasty. Practically no such attempts have been made; instead, the relative age of the hymns and stanzas has called out much speculation and assumption, as well as painstaking investigation. Entire collections of hymns, single hymns, parts of hymns, and single stanzas have been characterized, with degrees of confidence varying from almost whispered suspicion to clarion-voiced confidence, as very early, quite early, early; and late, quite late, very late. There has been unanimity, as, e. g., in the case of the tenth book of the RV.: this everybody describes as late. There has been the greatest possible disagreement, as, e. g., in the case of the eighth book of the RV.: this has been shown to be the earliest as well as the latest of the so-called family-books of that collection.

The habits of mind which have given rise to these judgments are not hard to describe. They are based in the first instance upon an entirely justifiable impression. In the midst of the

hymnal tradition the Rig-Veda looms up as the largest, the most important collection; without doubt a large proportion of its material belongs to the earliest recorded literary efforts of the Hindus; no less certainly the period of the redaction of this material is fully as early, if not earlier, than the period of the redaction of the other collections. This is shown very clearly by those stanzas of the RV. which are reproduced with more or less variation in AV., SV., and YV. In the large majority of cases these variant readings are as good or better in RV. than in the other collections. In the large majority of cases, we say, and this ensures the RV. its position. But not in all cases: no amount of haggling will deprive the other collections of their occasional better readings. This fact cannot be brushed aside lightly: if the Sāma-Veda has, say, two dozen better readings which cannot be explained as later aesthetic, opportunist, or shrewdly learned improvements of the Sāmavedins; if these better readings are really, let us say, prehistoric, then we must assume a current of independent Sāmavedic tradition, however scantily its waters may trickle. And so on with the AV. and YV. tradition. We must not neglect to make here a sharp distinction between redaction and authorship: a collection made at a later date may, of course, include material composed at an earlier time. Within the RV. itself there has been room for the work of a second impression, scarcely less justifiable than the first. The impression that operates here is that of a certain extraneousness of parts of the collection. By processes of paring and trimming the 1,000 hymns of the RV. with their 10,000 stanzas are reduced to a lesser number in order to get at the inner kernel, an older and more genuine RV. The tenth book, forming one end, and a very large one at that, contains a great deal of material, especially of the Atharvanic sort, which is undoubtedly foreign to the main theme of the RV., the worship of the forces of nature, and their anthropomorphic precipitates, the personal gods (Indra, Agni, etc.). But why must all such matter really be of more recent date, along with the same substance in the AV.? The answer that is made to this question will engage us later on. The tenth book contains also a great deal of non-Atharvanic matter, among other things the wedding-charms and funeral-hymns of the Veda. We cannot well imagine Vedic Hinduism without, e. g., the little Yama-Sainhitā, as we may call it, RV. X. 10-18. Yet this has not been spared entirely the charge of relative lateness. Here is where the difference between time of redaction and time of com-

position is particularly important. We may well believe that the hymns of book X. were assembled and added to the rest at a later time, without prejudicing our belief in the extreme antiquity of some or even all its hymns. Think of it, can there have been a time in which Yama, the son of Vivasvant (Avestan Yima, the son of Vīvanhvant), his heaven, and his Cerberus dogs, were so much in abeyance in the minds of the Vedic folk that they had nothing to say about them; only by a later recrudescence of these fancies were they finally embalmed into those stanzas that are on the whole the most interesting in early Vedic religion! And again think of it, the vast stretch of magic practices, good and evil, which extend from the RV. through the ritual, the law-books, the Epic, down to the *Daṣakumāracarita* and later, according to the same kind of assumption, also failed to obtain any literary expression at a time when the so-called family books of the RV. had been composed and gathered! Silently, without charm or prayer, or, at best, only with scant prose formulas, we are asked to believe, were carried on all the endless practices that really reach the heart of Hindu life: medical practices, and practices which secure long life; the practices connected with the lives of kings, priests, women, village community; marriage, birth, pupilhood, householdership; death, funeral, and worship of the Fathers.

Other parts of books, single hymns, and, last but not least, groups of stanzas or single stanzas, usually at the end of hymns, are cast out, almost always under the rule of the impression that they do not fit in, either with the arrangement, or the subject-matter of that main theme of the book, the worship of Agni, Indra, Sūrya, the Agyins, etc. At least the following caution ought to be observed: before throwing out we ought to know the reason why the redactors placed these extra materials where we find them. The redactors were reasonable men: what is to us antiquity was for them at least relatively the living present. The characterization of stanzas as 'secondary appendages,' 'meaningless rubbish,' and the like, is invariably another way of saying that our knowledge has come to an end. Even now the profounder study of many a hymn, especially in relation to the practicalities of Vedic life and worship, has vindicated a large number of so-called appendages, and shown them to be a very real part of the main body of the hymn. E. g., RV. i. 126, a hymn in praise of a generous patron of priests (*dānastuti*), winds up with two frankly obscene stanzas. No greater contrast imaginable: at

first sight the conclusion is irresistible that these two odd and very strange stanzas lay about loose and were by pure accident attached to this particular hymn. When, however, we again find, at the end of RV. viii. 1, an obscene stanza (34), preceded by a *dānastuti*, the organicity, so to say, of the connection becomes highly probable. We are carried into that strange medley of 'gift-praises,' didactic stanzas, riddles, and obscenities, known as the *kuntāpa* (AV. xx. 127-136; Śāṅkh. Cr. xii. 14 ff.; and elsewhere). Very popular as these materials obviously are, they are imbedded deeply in the liturgy of many of the great Vedic sacrifices. I have suggested recently that the bestowal of gifts upon the priests, resulting in the 'gift-praises,' was followed by all sorts of hilarities which finally bridged over the gap that there is between the truly solemn parts of these sacrifices to what for lack of a better term we may call a kind of liturgic '*saukneipe*.' That is, if the theory be correct, the rich gifts to the priests lead in many instances to gormandizing and drunkenness, and these again were followed—the practice is not entirely unknown in our day—by shallow witticisms, by obscene talk, and worse.¹ Anyhow, the light-hearted rejection of RV. i. 126. 6, 7, and viii. 1. 34 is out of the question; on the contrary, these stanzas strengthen the rapidly growing conviction that the RV., as we have it, in common with the other Vedas, is a liturgic collection—a large *mantra-pāṭha*, so to say, for a more primitive chain of sacrifices and practices than that which is recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. Bergaigne has shown that the apparently independent character, in form and subject-matter, of many final stanzas in the RV. is organic and practical, not hap-hazard and redactorial; e. g., the so-called *paridhānīyā*-stanzas; the lengthening of final stanzas; and the conclusions in triṣṭubh-metre of certain hymns in jagatī-metre.² Cf. also my remarks on RV. x. 16. 13, 14, and vii. 103. 10, respectively, AJPh. xi. 343 ff.; JAOS. xvii. 178.

When, finally, these processes have laid bare the supposed inner kernel of the RV., the latter attracts attention first of all by its monotony. The picture of ancient Hindu life that could be derived from it is of the haziest sort. Excepting that it includes the practices connected with the pressure and sacrifice of the

¹ See Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda*, p. 100 (*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*).

² Journal Asiatique, 1888, vol. xiii, pp. 153-165.

soma-drink it is purely mythological; prevailinglly it alludes to real life only in simile and metaphor, though, of course, the ordinary benefits that men crave are asked of the gods in very general terms. Inasmuch as this material is of paramount importance in the greater Vedic ritual (*grāuta*) with three fires and many priests, as laid down in the Brāhmaṇas and Ārāuta-Sūtras, we may conveniently designate these hymns and their diction as ritualistic or hieratic. On the other hand, because the excluded parts of the RV. are in the main within the sphere of the Atharvan and the house-practices, let us designate their hymns and diction as Atharvanic or popular (demotic). Indeed the two terms hieratic and popular will serve our purpose best.

At this point what is in the first place a mere impression produced by the facts of external arrangement, by the fact that the hieratic and popular materials do not blend any better than oil and water, is reinforced by certain metrical and linguistic considerations. The chief metrical consideration is Oldenberg's theory of the anuṣṭubh. The original Atharvanic anuṣṭubh stanzas, i. e., those that do not reproduce with more or less variation the RV. stanzas that deal with the anthropomorphic nature-gods, differ from these RV. anuṣṭubhs on the one hand, and from the Epic and Buddhistic śloka on the other. In the strictly Rig-Vedic anuṣṭubhs the first pāda of each hemistich regularly ends in a dīambus or second paeon (◡ — ◡ ◡); in the Epic and Buddhistic śloka, still more regularly, in a first epitrite or antispast (◡ — — ◡). On the other hand, each Atharvanic (and Gṛhya) hemistich permits these as well as all other possible feet of four syllables (◡ ◡ ◡ ◡): see, e. g., AV. i. 1; i. 2; i. 7; i. 8; v. 19; and xii. 4. The Atharvanic and Gṛhya anuṣṭubh may be designated as the popular anuṣṭubh in distinction from the hieratic anuṣṭubh of the soma-hymns in the RV.: a hymn like RV. x. 85 (the wedding-stanzas) is, of course, in popular anuṣṭubh.

But if we consider the quantitative freedom of the eight-syllable line of the Younger Avesta, there is reason to assume that the popular (freer) anuṣṭubh is by construction and chronology earlier than the better regulated hieratic (somic) anuṣṭubh. The theory that the development of the popular foot took place from ◡ — ◡ ◡ (hieratic) through ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ (popular), to ◡ — — ◡ (Epic and Buddhistic) is on its face improbable; in the light of all Hindu metrical development the change from the regulated type ◡ — ◡ ◡ to the less free types that must be expressed by

ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ is, to say the least, very difficult. Instead, we may assume that the Aryan free octosyllabic lines, grouped into two hemistichs of sixteen syllables, developed (on slight prehistoric iambic tendencies) the iambic cadence at the end of each hemistich, and continued so in the popular poetry until the beginnings of the Epic and Buddhist *gloka*. At the same time a more exquisite treatment at the hands of the hieratic poets developed the Rig-Vedic (sonic) *anuṣṭubh* on a parallel line, by repeating the final cadence of each hemistich before the caesura in its middle, i. e., at the end of each *pāda*.

Linguistically and stylistically the popular hymns are found to be related more closely than the hieratic hymns to that dialect or dialects which are at the base of the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sūtras*, and the later vehicles of literary expression in general, the classical Sanskrit, of course, not excepted. Because the popular hymns favor certain phonetic habits, grammatical forms, and lexical materials of the prose parts of the Veda and the later Sanskrit literature in general, therefore the popular hymns are later. But, lo and behold, these discussions seem to have been carried on without proper regard to comparative grammar and etymology: almost all the linguistic forms that are looked upon as indications of late date are in reality as old, still more often older than the entire history of the Aryan language in India. The latest essay on this subject, that of E. V. Arnold, in this Journal, vol. xviii., 203 ff: is as conspicuously deficient in this matter as are all its predecessors. Once, and only once, in the course of the long, elaborate, and diligent article, whose statistics will always remain of value, the author seems to have a vision of the broader canvass upon which his grammatical figures do in reality stand. It is in connection with the 'late,' classical infinitive in *-tum*. 'Throughout the whole Vedic period the classical form *-tum* is rare, though it becomes more common in AV. It is noticeable that the form in *-tum* also occurs in Latin, and is therefore presumably primitive; yet it is entirely absent from the earliest hymns of the RV. This fact must be a warning against drawing conclusions as to date from isolated phenomena, however striking they may at first sight appear' (l. c., p. 310). Very true, but why not apply the same very sound observation to the 'late' dual in *-āu*. This ending *-āu* appears in *aṣṭāu* = Goth. *ahtau*: it is not only a form that existed in Indo-European times, but is sufficiently old and prehistoric to have played a part in the 'glottogonic' events that

brought about the derivative ordinals, Latin *octāv-us*, Greek *ὀγδοϝ-ος*, whose *υ* (*ϝ*) is surely identical with the *u* of *astāu*. Indeed, Professor Meringer¹ has shown that the dual endings *-āu* and *-ā* are two *saindhi*-forms of the same ending, their original distribution being *-āu* before vowels, *ā* before consonants, with secondary ('*euphonic*') loss of *u*. Genetically, therefore *āu* preceded *-ā*. Similar very obvious considerations show that the instrumental plural of *a*-stems in *-āis* and *-ebhis* are both prehistoric. Sk. *vīkūis* = Avest. *vehrkūis* = Gr. *λύκοις* = Lith. *viūkūis*; and Vedic *vīkebhis* = Avest. *vehrkēbhis*. Originally the ending *-bhis* seems indeed in this class of nouns to have been secondary to *-āis*, having been borrowed either from the consonantal noun-stems, or from the pronominal declensions. A moment's reflection suffices also to establish the prehistoric character of both the nominative plurals in *-ās* and *-āsus* belonging to the *a*-stems.

Of more isolated morphological cases 'late' *hva-yāmi* is especially instructive. If there is any form which belongs organically to the 'popular' and not to 'hieratic' language it is *hva-yāmi*. Yet it is prehistoric, = Avest. *zba-yemi*. That the type *karōti*, *kurē* (cf. Ved. *tarute*) is structurally very old is now the accepted view of comparative grammar.² Or let us consider the 'late' stem *panthān-* in relation to 'early' *panthāi-*. Not till the AV. do the ordinary Sk. forms *panthānaḥ* and *panthānam* turn up, and yet they are pre-Vedic, as is shown by Avestan *pañtānem*. The truth is that the type *panthān-am* is just as old as, if not older than, the type *panthā(i)-m*. It is useless to multiply the cases in which comparative grammar and etymology shows that the 'late' popular forms are in reality prehistoric:³ it would be easy to show that the phonetics, morphology and lexicon of the popular language contribute just as much to the stock of common Indo-European, or common Indo-Iranian materials, as do the corresponding data of the hieratic language.

The question is therefore largely one of dialect, style or subject-matter: this is the primary point of view from which the language of the popular hymns must be compared with the hieratic hymns.

¹ Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxviii. 217 ff.

² See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* xvi., p. clviii. ff.; BB. xxiii. 107 ff.; Hirth, *Der Indogermanische Ablaut*, pp. 114, 118.

³ Cf. Hillebrandt, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1889, p. 401; Bloomfield, *JAOS.* xvii. 175, note 5; *The Atharva-Veda*, p. 46.

A given form or word in the lexicon is not necessarily of recent origin because it begins to crop out in the tenth or first book of the RV., appears (*a fortiori*) still more frequently in the popular collection of the AV., and is the regular form of Vedic or Sanskrit prose; nor, consequently, are hymns necessarily late because they abound in forms and words that are strangers to the diction of the hieratic hymns. Here is the bad logic: the hieratic language is certainly old; the popular language is not hieratic: therefore it is late (black is a color; red is not black; therefore red is not a color). A necessary preliminary to a more successful study of the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns is their separation into classes; at least two classes, hieratic and popular, but probably more. For example, the Sāma-hymns (*pragātha*) of the eighth and first books (hymns 1-50) are by no means to be compared directly with the strictly R̥g-books, for subject-matter cannot help influencing style as well as choice of words and grammar. As a preacher in the pulpit may glide in and out of biblical (archaic) diction in the course of his sermon: at one moment he may use the language of Isaiah or the Psalms, at another the latest and most forceful popular speech of the day; as the poetry of a given period may range from dithyramb to doggerel, so it is with the language of the Vedic hymns. Attempts to establish the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns will necessarily always remain difficult and subjective, but the problem will be relieved of a great deal of its perplexity by dealing with the hymns according to their subject-matter, and by holding up each grammatical and lexical fact to the light that shines from the related languages. Within each class of hymns there is still room for observations on relative chronology. If we find a hymn devoted, say, to Indra's exploits in connection with Vṛtra and the other demons, using persistently the verbs *karomi*, *hvayāmi*, or the dual in *-āu* and the instrumental in *-āis*, we may assign to it a relatively late period. But the same grammatical phenomena, say in a medicinal charm are absolutely otiose, because they are prehistoric and have been the normal unaffected forms of the popular language from the very beginning of Hindu tradition.

On raiṣama, an epithet of Indra.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD,
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THE word is restricted to eight occurrences in the Rig-Veda, being used there solely as an epithet of Indra. Notwithstanding its marked physiognomy the attempts to explain the word have been provisional only. Yāska, Nir. vi. 23, finds it in the list of cruces Nāigh. iv. 3, and explains it lamely by *ṛcā sanīḥ* 'like a song, or *ṛc*,' a rendering which remains authoritative for Sāyaṇa and the rest of Hindu tradition. Grassmann has, etwa 'glänzend,' Ludwig, 'stralend,' or 'tönend,' and, 'laut singend,' all of which is mere etymology on the root *arc*, leaving the three syllables *-ṛṣama* in the position of suffixal waste matter. Once, in justifiable perplexity, Ludwig retains the word as a proper name *Raiṣama* (RV. vi. 46. 4); the Petersburg Lexicons attempt no translation at all.

The metrical language of the Veda and to some extent also its rhythmic prose is dominated by certain well-known laws or preferences as regards the succession of quantities. Perhaps the most prominent of these is the love of a diiambus, fostered doubtless to a considerable extent in the final cadences of verse-lines of eight and twelve syllables, where the diiambus is altogether the rule. This preference is shown in two distinct ways. First, when the first three of a group of four syllables are naturally or historically short the second is lengthened, e. g., *pibā-pibā*; *tuvi-magha*, as metrical doublet of *tuvi-magha*; *purūtama*, as metrical doublet of *purutama*; *ajījanat* (cf. *agnīm hótāraṁ vidāthāya jījanan*, RV. x. 11. 3^d); intensive noun-stems, *calācala-*, *sarīśrpa-*, etc.: intensive verb *bhāribharti* (in addition to *bhāribhrati*); etc. From the investigations of De Saussure¹ and Jakob Wackernagel² we know that this rhythmic type probably reaches back to prehistoric times (Gr. *σοφώτερος*, *σοφώτατος*, *ἱερωσύνη*, etc.). Second, when in a succession of four syllables the first two are short, the third long, the craving after diiambi is

¹ *Une Loi Rythmique de la Langue Greque (Mélanges Graux, pp. 737-748).*

² *Das Dehnungsgesetz der Griechischen Composita* (Basel, 1889).

satisfied by the more drastic expedient of lengthening the second short syllable and shortening the long third syllable; e. g., °*su dīdīhi* (*asmākam agne maghavātsu dīdīhi*, RV. i. 140. 10^a), as metrical doublet of °*bho dīdīhi* (*āṣādho agne vṛṣabhō dīdīhi*, RV. iii. 15. 4^a); *adīdipam* (Kāth. S.), as metrical doublet of *sum dīdīpaḥ* (RV. viii. 48. 6).

With these facts in mind we may bring *ṛcīśama* down from the clouds. We can safely assume that *ṛcīśama* is metrically changed *ṛcīśama*, i. e. a compound of *ṛcī* and *sāma*. This might mean 'he who sings the Sāmans,' but for the strangeness of such an epithet as applied to Indra (cf. perhaps RV. i. 173); moreover the verb *gāi*, rather than *arc* is typical for the singing of the Sāmans. We may therefore translate *ṛcīśama* by 'he for whom the *sāman* is sung upon the *ṛc*.' This is familiar: the sung *sāman* is based upon the spoken *ṛc*, e. g. ÇB. viii. 1. 3. 3, *ṛcī sāma gīyate*. The *ṛc* is the womb (fem.) from which springs the *sāman* (masc.) ÇB. iv. 3. 2. 3; or, the *ṛc* and the *sāman* are respectively man and wife, typifying cohabitation, AV. xiv. 2. 71; AB. iii. 22; ÇB. iv. 6. 7. 11; viii. 1. 3. 5, and many other places. As an epithet of Indra *ṛcīśama* in the sense just assumed is unexceptionable.

Another compound involving exactly the same metrical law is *tuṣṭirāvān*, RV. x. 64. 4, 16. This is not, as the Pet. Lexs. assume = *tuṣṭirāva* 'loudly shouting,' nor as Grassmann assumes, 'very refreshing' (from *tuṣṭi* + *irāvat* = *irāvat*), but it means 'giving mightily' (*tuṣṭirāvān* = *tuṣṭi* + *rāvan*); cf. the connection in x. 64. 16. Its opposite is *ā-rāvan* 'not giving, illiberal, hostile.' In compounds that have for their second member an agent-noun in *a* the same metrical tendency works very strongly both in poetry and in prose. Thus VS. x. 28 there is the formula *bahukāra greyaskara bhūyaskara*, i. e., the type $\cup \cup - \underline{\cup}$ alternates with the type $\cup - \cup \underline{\cup}$, exactly as the reduplicated aorist furnishes the types *adīdīkṣam* ($\cup \cup - \underline{\cup}$ and *ajījanam* ($\cup - \cup \underline{\cup}$). The Kāṇva-version of the above mentioned formula, VSK. xi. 8. 5, varies the formula so that it reads, *priyamkāra greyaskara bhūyaskara*: the choice of *priyamkāra* (why not *priyakāra*?) illustrates, just as does *ṛcīśama* for **ṛcī-śama*, or *ajījivam* for **ajījivam*, the constant preference of the language of the type $\cup - \cup \underline{\cup}$ as compared with $\cup \cup - \underline{\cup}$. Hence the rapid propagation of apparently syntactical compounds like *janam-saha*, *abhayam-kara*, *puram-dara*, *śakam-bhara*, *talpe-çaya*, and finally the

ungrammatical, purely analogical, *vasuṃ-dhara*. Nothing is in the way of the belief that the agent nouns in the second member of compounds of the types *-kara*, *-jaya*, *-dhara*, *-bhara*, etc., are derived by inorganic metrical change from *-kāra*, *-jāya*, *-dhāra*, *-bhāra*, etc. The latter then rather than the former are the true analogues of Greek *-βόλος*, *-φόνος*, *-φόρος*, etc., in composition. It is important to bear in mind that all this is in support of 'Brugmann's law': I. E. *o* = Sk. *ā* in open syllables.

The Vata-sāvitri-vrata, according to Hemādri and the Vratārka.—By ALBERT HENRY ALLEN, of San Francisco, California. Presented by Professor Lanman.

THE beautiful Sāvitri myth forms appropriately enough the basis of a religious rite designed particularly for Hindu women, to be performed by those who sought by its pious observance to obtain the virtues and blessings which distinguish the Indian Alcestris. This rite will be found described in Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi, adhyāya 21 of the Vratākhaṇḍa, in the second part of volume two as published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and also in the Vratārka of Ṣaṁkara, son of Nīlakaṇṭha, of which I have used a lithographed copy belonging to Prof. C. R. Lanman.

Hemādri belongs to about the middle of the 13th century A.D.¹ The Vratārka was written in 1678, says Aufrecht.² Citations from Hemādri are found among its other quotations. Both seem to rest ultimately upon the Purāṇas in their accounts of the innumerable vratas of which they treat. In its account of the Sāvitri-vrata the Vratārka draws mostly from the Skandapurāṇa, while Hemādri quotes for the most part from the Bhaviṣyottara. Some portion of the matter cited by the Vratārka from the Skanda is also quoted by Hemādri from the same source.

Both the Caturvarga and the Vratārka contain in their accounts of the Sāvitri rite a version of the Sāvitri myth. These differ in extent of treatment and in a few points of detail from the Sāvitryupākhyāna in the Mahābhārata (the Pativrata-māhātmya-parvan of the Vana-parvan=iii., sects. 292-299). These two versions are of about equal length, the Caturvarga's somewhat shorter, and contain about 120 glokas each. The MBh. version contains 297. Both of the Purāṇic versions are loosely constructed as far as language is concerned, but as the Vratārka is not available in printed form a few of its better passages might be cited nevertheless. Its source for the kathā is the Skandapurāṇa, that of Hemādri is the Bhaviṣyottara.

Referring for the details of the story to the Mahābhārata version, I may give here a brief outline. Aṣvapati, king of Madra,

¹ Bhandarkar, History of Dekkan, 2d ed., p. 116. ² ZDMG., 54. 88.

being childless; makes supplication to the goddess Sāvitrī for a son. The goddess appears, and promises him not a son but a daughter. In the Purāṇic versions the goddess declares that the daughter will exalt two households, and that her name is to be Sāvitrī, that of the goddess herself. These points are not found in the Mahābhārata story. The girl Sāvitrī comes to maturity, and attains such matchless beauty that no suitor dares ask her hand. Her father therefore sends her forth with regal equipment to make her *svayamvara*. She chooses Satyavant, son of the blind old king Dyumatsena, who lives an exile in the forest. The rishi Nārada discloses to her and her father that Satyavant is fated to die within a year. Sāvitrī abides by her decision and goes to live in the forest with the husband of her choice. As the year draws to a close she performs austerities, and on the fated day accompanies Satyavant through the forest in search of fruits and fuel. A faintness seizes Satyavant, and Yama, the Death-god, appears. In spite of Sāvitrī's supplications, Yama takes Satyavant's life in the form of a "thumb-sized man," (*anṅu-ṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣaḥ*), and bears it off in his hunter's net. Sāvitrī follows, and by her persistence wins from Yama a number of boons, including the restoration of life to Satyavant. In consequence then of Sāvitrī's devotion, Satyavant is restored to life, Dyumatsena recovers his sight and his kingdom, Aṅvapati becomes father of a hundred sons, while Satyavant and Sāvitrī also have a hundred sons and live four hundred years.

The first passage quoted is the conversation between Aṅvapati, Nārada and Sāvitrī, when the latter declares her choice of Satyavant as husband, Vratārka, Benares, 1875, folio 123a4 :

yāvad evaṁ vaded rājā tāvat sā kamalekṣaṇā
 āgramād āgatā devī vṛddhāmātyāiḥ samanvitā,
 abhivādya pituḥ pādau vavande sā muninī tataḥ.
 nāradena tu dr̥ṣṭā sā, dr̥ṣṭvā provāca bhūmipam :¹
 "kanyeyam devagarbhābhā ! kimartham na prayacchasi
 varāya tvam, mahābāho ? varayogyāpi² sundarī."
 evam uktas tadā tena muninā nṛpasattamah
 uvāca tam muninī vākyaṁ : "anenārthena preṣitā

¹ The two pādas of this half-śloka obviously do not fit. The relative which is necessary to the sense must be introduced in translation, though we need not stop to emend the text.

² Perhaps read *varayogyā hi*.

āgateyaṁ viçulākṣī, mayā sampreṣitā satī.
 anayā ca vṛto bhartā; pṛecha tvam, muni-sattama."
 sū pṛṣṭā tena muninā tasmāi cācaṣṭa bhāminī :
 "āgrame satyavān nāma dyumatsenasuto, mune ;
 bhartṛtve manasā, vipra, vṛto 'sāu rūja-nandanah."

While the king was thus speaking the lotus-eyed princess returned from the hermitage attended by her aged counsellors, made obeisance to her father's feet and then reverently saluted the muni. And she was seen by Nārada, who seeing her addressed the Earth-lord. "This maid is like unto the offspring of a god! Why dost thou not offer her in marriage to some suitor, O great-armed? Verily the fair one is ready for a bridegroom." Thus addressed then by the muni the best of kings spoke to the muni, saying: "Sent forth for this purpose this large-eyed girl has returned, sent forth, the virtuous maid, by me. And by her has a husband been chosen. Do thou ask her, O best of munis." She was asked by that muni, and the glorious maiden said to him: "In the hermitage lives the son of Dyumatsena, Satyavant by name. That prince has been chosen by my heart as husband."

nārada uvāca (Vratārka, 123a7) :

kaṣṭhaṁ kṛtaṁ, mahārāja, duhitṛā tava, suvrata ;
 ajānāntya' vṛto bhartā guṇavān iti viçrutah.
 satyaṁ vadaty asya pitā, satyaṁ mātā prabhūṣate,
 svayaṁ satyaṁ prabhūṣeta, satyavān iti tan matah.
 tathā cāgvāḥ priyās tasya, aqvāḥ kṛdāti mṛṇmayāḥ.
 citre 'pi ca likhaty aqvāṁ, citrāqvāḥ tena cocyate.
 rūpavān, guṇavān cāiva, sarva-gāstra-viçāradaḥ,
 na tasya sadṛço loka vidyate ccha mānavah.
 sarvāir guṇāḥ svayaṁ pūrṇo, ratnāir iva mahārṇavaḥ.
 eko doṣo mahān āsīd² guṇān āvṛtya tiṣṭhati,
 saṁvatsareṇa kṣīṇāyur dehatyāgāṁ kariṣyati
 aqvapatir uvāca :

anyaṁ varaya, bhadrāṁ te, varaṁ, sāvitṛi,—gamyatām,
 vivāhasya tu kālo 'yaṁ vartate, çubhalocane.

Nārada said: "A mistake has been made by thy daughter, O mighty king! By her has unwittingly been chosen a man far famed as virtuous. His father speaks truthfully, his mother

¹ Cf. Holtzmann, Anhang zu Whitney, sect. 449.

² Read *asya*?

speaks truthfully, he speaks truthfully himself—he is known therefore as Satyavant, the Truthful. And likewise horses are dear to him. [As a child] he used to play with earthenware horses, and he even drew a horse in a picture, and for this he is called Citrāṅva, Picture-horse. He is handsome, and virtuous, too, skilled in all the shasters, and no man is to be seen his like in this world. He is himself filled with all virtues as is the great ocean with gems. But there is one great defect overshadowing all his virtues : within a year's time his life will have run out and he will leave his body."

Aṅvapati said : "Choose another bridegroom, and may luck befall thee, Sāvitrī—go, now is the season for thy marriage, fair eyed maid."

Sāvitrī uvāca (Vratārka, 123a11) :

nānyam icchāmy ahaṁ, tāta, manasāpi varam, prabho,
yo mayā ca vr̥to bhartā, sa me, nānyo, bhaviṣyati.
vicintya manasā pūrvam, vācā paścāt samuccaret,
kriyate ca tataḥ paścāt, guḥham vā yadi vāḡubham.
tasmān manāḥ pumāṁsaṁ ca kathāṁ cānyam vṛṇomy aham ?
saktṛ jalpanti rājānaḥ, saktṛ jalpanti paṇḍitāḥ,
saktṛ kanyāḥ pradīyante ; trīṇy etāni saktṛ saktṛ !¹
patim matvā na me buddhir vicalati kathāṁ cana.
saguṇo nirguṇo vāpi, mūrkhāḥ, paṇḍita eva ca,
dīrghāyur atha vālpāyur sa vāi bhartā mama, prabho.
nānyam vṛṇomi bhartāraṁ, yadi vā syāc chacīpatih

Sāvitrī said : "O father, I wish no other bridegroom even in my heart, my lord, and he who has been chosen by me, he, no other, shall be my husband. One should first consider with the heart, afterwards utter with the voice ; and after that, action takes its course, whether for good or for ill. How therefore shall I choose another heart and another husband ?² Kings speak but once, the learned speak but once, and but once are maidens given in marriage—these three things but once ! In thinking of a husband, in no way does my mind waver. Whether virtuous or

¹ Cf. Indische Sprüche 6650 and 6652.

² This half-śloka is so hard to reduce to order on account of its misplaced conjunctions that the corresponding words at this point in Hemādri's version may be quoted as a substitute, namely 'pramāṇam me manas, tāta ; kathāṁ cānyam vṛṇomy aham'—'My heart is my guide, O father, and how can I choose another ?'

even not virtuous, fool or scholar, of long life or of short, *he* is my husband, my lord ! I choose no other as husband, not though he were *Ṣaṇḍipati* !"

The terseness of this *Vratārka* passage appeals more to the Western reader, at least, than the corresponding drawn-out narrative of the *Mahābhārata*. The vigor and emphasis of *Sāvitṛī*'s final words in the passage quoted are certainly not approached in the corresponding *gloka*s of the Epic.

The three versions of the story agree in the main in *Nārada*'s account of the naming of *Satyavant*, particularly in the apparently altogether irrelevant account of his name *Citrāṅga*. The *gloka*s in *Hemādri* at this point (p. 261¹⁶) are as follows :

satyaṁ vadaty asū rājā, satyāṅgas¹ tena sa smṛtaḥ.
nityam aṅgavāḥ priyās tasya, karoty aṅgān sa mṛṇmayān,
citṛe² pi likhayaty² aṅgān, citrāṅgas tena kathyate.

This making, or playing with, earthenware horses on the part of an otherwise heroic prince is explained by the *Mahābhārata* *gloka*, 16670 :

bālasyāṅgavāḥ priyāḥ cāsyā, karoty aṅgāṅ ca mṛṇmayān,
citṛe² pi vilikhaty aṅgāṅ ; citrāṅga iti cocyate.

The fact that this occupation marked the prince's *childhood* is assumed to be known in the other two versions. This and the further fact that this entirely irrelevant statement is not omitted in two versions which elsewhere sacrifice so much to brevity would seem to indicate that the tradition looked upon *Citrāṅga*, styled *Satyavant*, as an historic personage.

The nature of the penances performed by *Sāvitṛī* as the day of her husband's death approaches is described much more at length in the *Mahābhārata* than in either of the *Purāṇic* versions. The details of this are reserved in the *Purāṇic* excerpts for another place in their accounts of the *Sāvitṛī-vrata*. In the account of what took place when *Sāvitṛī* went with *Satyavant* into the forest on the fateful day, a feature in the *Purāṇic* versions which deserves notice is the mention of the banyan tree (*vaṭa*). The banyan is not so much as named in the *Mahābhārata* story. In the *Vratārka kathā*, however, while *Satyavant* is gathering fruit and

¹ Evidently meant for *satyavāṇs*.

² This is the form in the text. Perhaps *vilikhaty* might be read.

fuel, the faithful Sāvitrī takes her seat under a banyan—"vāṭa-vṛkṣatale sādhvī upaviṣṭā mahāsati." Hemādri's kathā has a similar line, and both of these accounts mention the vāṭa again in speaking of Sāvitrī's return with the soul of Satyavant after her successful interview with Yama. The banyan would seem out of place in a forest described in a preceding line as '*druma-saṁkula*,' as it is a tree which tends to grow apart from other trees, forming a small forest in itself.¹ But the vāṭa figures prominently in the Sāvitrī rite—which indeed is styled the *vāṭasāvitrīrrata*—and hence perhaps is introduced into the story. The banyan's striking powers of self-perpetuation made it a symbol of fruitfulness to women desiring sons, and hence it is not unnaturally associated with a rite which had the attainment of sons and grandsons as its object.

Without detailing the lengthy moralizing of Sāvitrī and the gradual relenting of Yama, the Vratārka, 124a10, briefly tells what the faithful wife won by her intercession with the Death-god.

sāmtuṣṭas tena vākyena dharmarājo yamas tadā,
varāṇām īgvaro dātā varāṁ tasyāi dideḡa ha.
sā paḡcād ātmanah putrāṁ, pituḡ putraḡatāṁ tathā,
cakṣuhprāptiṁ ca sū vavre gvaḡrḡgvaḡurayos tadā;
rājyapraḡptiṁ tathā bhartur, jīvitāṁ ca tathā vibhoḡ
(dharmapraḡptiḡ svabhartur hi); nivṛttā sū sumadhyamā,
pradakṣiṇāṁ tataḡ kṛtvā dharmarājāya suvratā.
tathety uktvā dharmarājo jagāma ca svam ālayam.

Then Yama the lord of justice was delighted with this speech, and the generous lord of wishes granted a wish to her. She thereupon then wished sons for herself, and a hundred sons for her father and the gaining of sight for her two parents-in-law; then the gaining of his kingdom for her husband and likewise the life of her lord (for the attainment of virtue was her husband's already). Thereupon the graceful one turned back, after making a respectful salutation to Dharmarāja by turning to him her right side. And Dharmarāja, saying "Be it so," went to his own home.

The five boons won from Yama are the same in the three versions, though stated in different orders. In this passage, and again later, we have it suggested that both Dyumatsena and his wife were blind.

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 256.

Sāvitṛi returns to the banyan (the vaṭa being mentioned again) and restores life to Satyavant. At this point in the Vratārka, Sāvitṛi tells Satyavant everything that had happened. In the Mahābhārata, Satyavant does not learn of his death and revival until Sāvitṛi makes her disclosures at the end.

In the Mahābhārata also, Dyumatsena receives his sight before starting in search of his son. In the Vratārka we have a more pathetic picture of *two* blind parents being restored to sight while wandering through the forest (124a14).

astam gate tataḥ sūrye dyumatseno mahīpatiḥ
 putrasyāgamanākāṅkṣī itaḥ cetaḥ ca dhāvati,
 āgramād āgramam gacchan putradarṣanakāṅkṣayā.
 “āvayor andhayor yaṣṭiḥ kva gato 'si vināvayoh”
 evam sa vividham kroṣan sapatniko mahīpatiḥ
 cakāra duḥkhataptaḥ san “putra putreti” cāsakṛt.
 akasmād eva rājendro labdhacakṣur maheṣvaraḥ.

Then when the sun had set the king Dyumatsena ran hither and thither anxious for the return of his son, going from hermitage to hermitage in search of his son. “Where hast thou gone without us, thou staff of this blind pair!”—thus wailing in varied phrase the king together with his wife cried, distressed with grief, “my son, my son!” (Then) by a very miracle the lord of kings received his eyesight.

In passing from the Vratārka's kathā to its account of the rite itself, a great deal is found that is obscure. This obscurity is due in part to our lack of knowledge of things alluded to. But there is much that must have drawn whatever meaning it may have had from the devout imaginations of the worshippers. It conveys very little meaning to one who would apply exact constructions to its syntax or usage of language, and even to one who interprets his grammatical rules with liberality, and allows all possible latitude in charitable patience with disorderly arrangement, there remains an irreducible sediment of bad usage and obscure expression. Obvious corruptions in the kathā do not interfere with a fairly accurate following of the sense, but in the rest of the work passages are found, out of all admissible construction, which do not suggest so readily their probable meaning. These conditions may be due to the fact that the sources of such works as the Caturvarga and the Vratārka were mnemonic manuals rather than careful treatises, but most of the blame must fall

upon a careless transmission of the text. Without going far beyond necessary limits, this paper cannot discuss difficulties. It must aim only at presenting the significant features of the rite as described, with abundant allowance for correction.

The Vratārka's account of the rite is divided, with a specious attempt at system, under four heads, the pūjā, kathā, vidhi or vidhāna, and udyāpana. The division is not exact, and there is overlapping and repetition to such an extent that it is hard to state any precise distinction between the different aspects of the ceremony—the kathā of course excepted. The whole is prefaced by about a dozen lines of the lithograph stating the proper season for the ceremony and its purpose. The time is stated in two glokas, from the Skanda and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas, both of which prescribe the full moon of Jyēṣṭha as the proper season. But curiously enough, while the Vratārka specifies Jyēṣṭha, one of its lines (121b14) reading

jyēṣṭhe māsi site pakṣe dvādaśyām rajanīmukhe,

one of Hemādri's authorities specifies (p. 269⁴⁴) the month Bhādrapada in the following gloka from the Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa :

trayodaśyām bhādrapade dantadhāvanapūrvakam
trirātram niyamaṁ kuryād upavāsasya bhaktitah.

An assumption of local differences of observance may serve to reconcile this discrepancy. The Vratārka classes this rite under the general heading "*atha pūrṇimā-vratāni*" and the sub-heading "*tatra jyēṣṭha pūrṇimāyām vaṭasāvitṛvratam.*" The udyāpanam also mentions Jyēṣṭha. The purpose of the rite is clearly shown to be the attainment of such boons as Sāvitrī in the myth obtained from Yama, chiefly sons and grandsons and the avoidance of the awful curse of a Hindu widowhood. The Vratārka's words are "*mama bhartuḥ putrāṇāṁ ca āyurārogyapṛāptaye janmajanmani avāidhavyapṛāptaye ca sāvitṛvratam ahaṁ karisyā iti saṁkalpya,*" etc., 122a3.

The pūjā contains a number of mantras appropriate to different stages of the ceremony. A few might be quoted. The first, followed by the words "*iti dhyānam,*" evidently relates to the preparation of the images for the worship. The second relates to the bringing of these to the sacred spot, the village banyan. The third is apparently concerned with the offering of these images, the fourth with preparing water for ablutions. The last seems

to have the words which indicate its function partially included within the metrical construction. The first is at 122a4.

1. padmapatrāsanasthaḥ ca brahmā kāryaḥ caturmukhaḥ,
sāvitrī tasya kartavyā vāmotsaṅgagatā tathā.
ādityavarpuṇāṁ dharmajñāṁ sūkṣmālākaraṁ tathā,
iti dhyānam.
2. brahmaṇā sahitaṁ devīṁ sāvitrīṁ lokamātaram
satyavratāṁ¹ ca sāvitrīṁ yamaṁ cāvāhayāmy aham.
āvāhanam.
3. brahmaṇā saha sāvitrī-(tri?) satyavatsahite priye
hemāsanaṁ gr̥hyatūṁ tu, dharmarāja sureṣvara,
bhaktyā dattaṁ, dharmarāja, sāvitrī, pratigr̥hyatām. pādyaṁ.
4. bhaktyā samāhṛtaṁ toyam phalapuṣpasamanvitaṁ
arghaṁ gr̥hṇā, sāvitrī, manāsyā vratasiddhaye. argham.
sugandhaṁ sahakarpūraṁ surabhisvādn̄ḡṭaṁ
svapatyā saha, sāvitrī, kuryād ācamanīyakam.

Others follow, accompanying the acts of ablution and mouth-rinsing (*snānam*, *ācamanam*), the offering of a garment (*vuṣtram*) to Sāvitrī, the offering of the sacred cord (*ity upavītam*), of the fragrant sandal wood, accompanied by saffron, aloes, camphor and rocanā, '*kuṅkumāgarukarpūrakastūrocanāyutam*' (*can-danam*), the offering of grain (*ity akṣatāḥ*) and of flowers (*puṣ-pam*). The words in parentheses are those which follow the glocas in the text of the Vratārka. Following these mantras occurs under the heading "*athāṅgapūjā*" a bare outline of what appears later in the udyāpanam in metrical form, an adoration of the various members of Brahmā, Satyavant, and the two Sāvitrīs, goddess and woman. This begins "*Sāvitrīyāi pādau pūjayāmi, prasāvitrīyāi jaṅghe, kamalapatrākṣyāi kaṭim, bhūtadhārīnyāi udāram, brahmaṇaḥ prīyāyāi girāḥ pūjayāmi.*" Then offerings are made of incense (*dhūpam*) and lights (*dīpam*). The pūjā closes with the following invocation (*prārthanā*, 122b5):

sāvitrī brahmagāyatrī sarvadā priyabhāṣiṇī
tena satyena mām pāhi duḥkhasaṁsārasāgarāt.
tvam gāurī, tvam gucīr gāurī, tvam prabhā candramaṇḍale,
tvam eva ca jaganmātā, tvam uddhara, varānane.
yan mayā duṣkṛtaṁ sarvaṁ kṛtaṁ janmaçatāir api,
bhasmībhavatu tat sarvaṁ, avāidhavyaṁ ca dehi me.

¹ Probably intended for *satyavantaṁ*.

In the pūjā we notice how the characters in the story are brought into the ceremony. Yama, also called Dharmarāja and Sureṣvara, stands alone, Sāvitrī the woman appears with Satyavanta, while Sāvitrī the goddess introduces her divine consort Brahmā who does not appear in the story at all. Sāvitrī the goddess is variously called Prasāvitrī, Lokamātā, Jagannmātā, Devamātā and even Vedamātā and Gāyatrī.

Following the kathā, which in the Vratārka comes after the pūjā, is found the vidhi, or vidhānam. The sources of the pūjā are nowhere clearly indicated. The vidhānam, however, is from the Skanda Purāṇa, forming a continuation of the narrative of the kathā. It seems to give an outline of the conduct of the ceremony which the udyāpanam subsequently describes in more particularity. The kathā which Hemādri quotes from the Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa has a similar epilogue, in which the vidhānam is given, but of course in somewhat different language.

All that seems essential in the so-called vidhānam is repeated in the udyāpanam. This, as its name signifies, gives directions for carrying out the ceremony, for "making it go." Here the Vratārka and Hemādri use the same source, the Skanda Purāṇa. In 55 glokas of these parallel versions there are over 80 points at which Hemādri gives different readings, ranging from a particle to a whole line. The weak spots in such texts are hardly worth patching into intelligibility, but, so far as reasonable reliance can be placed in the sense of the text as found, the udyāpanam's prescriptions will be given.

In the first place, the woman who is to perform the ceremony passes the twelfth of the lunar month in Jyeṣṭha eating little (*laghubhuk*), and then, after a cleansing of the teeth, undertakes a three-days' fast with the following *niyama-mantra*, 125a9:

trirātram laṅghayitvā ca caturthe divase tv aham,
candrāyārgham pradattvā ca pūjayitvā tu tām satīm,
miṣṭānnāni yathāgaktiā bhojayitvā dvijottamān,
bhokṣye 'haṁ tu ; jagaddhātri, nirvighnaṁ kuru me, ṣubhe.

After passing three nights fasting, on the fourth day, giving an offering to the moon and worshipping the virtuous goddess, entertaining the Brāhmins to the extent of my ability with dainty foods, I shall eat, O thou that dost support the earth ; do thou occasion freedom from obstacles for me, O fair one.

In translating here I have ventured to express the connotation of fasting ("skipping" meals) which must here be prominent in *laṅghayitvā*. The rather unruly conjunctions *ca*, *hi* and *tu* are used here in a manner most characteristic of this text.

Then a prastha of sand (*bālukaprastham*) or else grain of seven kinds (*saptadhānya*) is put in a bamboo vessel. This is to be wrapped with cloths; and upon it is set an image of Sāvitṛī, the goddess, with Brahmā, and another of Sāvitṛī, the woman, with Satyavant. These are to be made of gold according to the udyāpanam, of silver according to the Vratārka's vidhānam, or, according to the vidhānam in Hemādri, of either gold, silver, or earthenware, as the ability of the devotee permits. Also a basket and an axe of silver are to be made, and in one of the versions a bundle of faggots as well, and a "well-spread banyan tree," are prescribed, reminiscences of the visit to the forest in the story. The three-days' fast is then to be undergone under a banyan in the presence of the images.

The banyan is as essential to the ceremony as the worshipful heroine herself. Each Indian village had its banyan, forming a ready-made series of temples for its idols and sacrifices.¹ A ceremony concerned with the banyan which might conceivably have been something similar to our Sāvitṛī rite is mentioned in connection with the attainment of enlightenment by the Future Buddha. See Warren, Buddhism in Translations, p. 71. "Now at that time there lived in Urvelā a girl named Sujātā On reaching maturity she made a prayer to a certain banyan tree, saying, 'If I get a husband of equal rank with myself, and my first-born is a son, I will make a yearly offering to you of the value of a hundred thousand pieces of money.' And her prayer had been successful." In this Sāvitṛī rite the banyan is the object of particular attention.

Following the preceding, the next step in the udyāpanam is thus given, Hemādri, p. 274^a:

vartulam maṇḍalam kāryam gomayena, tapodhana
pañcāmṛtena snapanam gandhapuspodakena ca.
candanāgurukarpūrāir mūlyavastravibhūṣaṇāḥ
sampūjya tatra sāvitṛim maṇḍale sthāpayet tatah
pītapīṣṭhena padmam ca candanenātha vā likhet
nyasyec cāiva tato devīm kamale kamalāsanām;
anena vidhinā sthāpya pūjayed gatamatsarā

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 259.

A round ring is to be made with cow dung, and the images washed with the *pañcāmṛtam* (milk, coagulated milk, butter, honey, and sugar) and with water containing perfume and flowers. Worshipping with sandalwood, aloes and camphor and with ornaments of garlands and garments, the devotee should then place *Sāvitṛī* there in the ring. And she should outline a lotus with yellow meal, or else with sandal-dust, and should then place the goddess whose seat is a lotus within the lotus. Placing her in this manner she should worship without selfish thought.

In the above citation Hemādri has been quoted. Although the *Vratārka* follows the same source, as has been said, it here omits two lines, the fourth and sixth, and has a less satisfactory line for the seventh.

There now follows the *aṅgapūjā* alluded to above. The various limbs and members, feet, knees, thighs, waist, breast, neck, face and head, of *Sāvitṛī* and of *Brahmā* and *Satyavant*, are saluted with '*namas*' and '*pūjā*.' Yama does not partake of this, apparently. Offerings are now made, with appropriate argha-mantras, to *Sāvitṛī*, *Brahmā* and *Satyavant*, and Yama. The first of these mantras is here given as a sample of the lot, 125b2 :

omkārāpūrvakam, devi, vīṇāpustakadhārini,
vedamātar, namas te 'stu ! avāidhavyam prayaccha me.
pativrate, mahābhāge, vahnijāte, gneismite,
dṛḍhavrata, dṛḍhamate, bhartuḥ ca priyavādini,
avāidhavyam ca sūnabhāgyam dehi tvam mama, suvrata,
putrān pāutrāṅ ca sūkhyam ca. grhāṇārgham, namo namaḥ.

The nature of the argham is indicated in a *gloka* further on :

gandhapuṣpāḥ sanāivedyāḥ phalāḥ kusumadīpakāḥ¹
raktavastrāḥ alaṁkārāḥ pūjayed gatamatsarā.

The prescriptions for the three-days' fast conclude with supplications, *prārthanā*-mantras, addressed to *Sāvitṛī*, *Brahmā* and *Satyavant*, and Yama. The first of these is not substantially different from that quoted in speaking of the *pūjā*. The others are similar in character, 125b7 :

brahmasatyavatoḥ prārthanāmantraḥ.
aviyogo yathā deva sāvitṛyū sahitas tava
aviyogas tathāsmākam bhūyāj janmani janmani.
yamaprārthanāmantraḥ.

¹ Hemādri *kuṅkuma*-.

karmasākṣī, jagatpūjyaḥ, sarvavandyaḥ ; prasīda me,
 saṁvatsaravratam sarvam paripūrṇam tad astu me.
 sāvitṛi, tvaṁ yathā, devī caturvarṣaṇatāyusaṁ¹
 patim prāptāsi guṇinam, mama, devī, tathā kuru.
 trisāṁdhyam, devī, bhūtānām, vandanīyāsi, suvrate,
 mayā dattāiva pūjeyam. tvaṁ ḡhāṇa, namo 'stu te !

The last night is spent in vigil (*jāgaram*) with ceremonial songs, dances and the like (*gītānṛtyādimaṅgalāis*). This section concludes, 125b11 :

sā tiṣṭhec ca divā rātrāu kāmakrodhavivarjitā ;
 dinatraye 'pi kartavyam evam arghādipūjanam.

On the fourth day the priesthood receives attention, and generous gifts. The following ḡlokas should really be quoted as showing how the ācārya profited by this rite (125b12):

ācāryam ca tataḥ paścād vratasya vidhikāram
 sarvalakṣaṇasampannam, sarvaḡāstrārthapāragam,
 vedavidyāvratasnātām ḡntām tu vijitendriyam
 sapatnīkām samabhyarcya vastrāṁkārakuṇḡalāiḥ
 ḡayyām sopaskarām dadyād, ḡrham cāivātiḡobhanam;
 aḡaktas tu yathāḡaktyā stokam stokam ca kalpayet;
 sāuvarṇim pratimām putri patinā saha dāpayet.

kalpanāmantraḥ

sāvitṛi, tvaṁ yathā, devī, caturvarṣaṇatāyusaṁ
 satyavantam patim labdhvā, mayā dattā tathā kuru.

pratimādānamantraḥ

sāvitṛi jagato mātā, sāvitṛi jagataḥ pitā
 mayā dattā ca sāvitṛi brahmaṇā pratigṛhyatām.

pratigrahamantraḥ

mayā ḡrhitā sāvitṛi tvayā dattā, suḡobhane,
 yāvac candraḡ ca sūryaḡ ca saha bhartrū sukhī bhava.
 gurum ca gurupatnīm ca tato bhaktyā kṣamāpayet:
 yan mayā kṛtavāikalyam vrate 'smin duradhiṣṡhitam
 sarvam sampūrṇatām yātu yuvayor arcanena tu.

¹ The fact that Satyavant was granted a life of 400 years is not mentioned in either of the Purāṇic kathās. It is found in the MBh. version, however.

The rest of the udyāpanam contains directions for attentions to the sacred vāṭa and for more gifts to the guru and his wife. The whole is concluded with the following glokas, 126a5 :

sarvadēvanamaskārye, pativrate, namo 'stu te.
 argham etam mayā dattam phalapuṣpasamanvitam.
 putrān dehi, sukhaṁ dehi, grhānārghaṁ, namo 'stu te.
 sakhibhir brāhmaṇāḥ sārddham bhuñjīta vijitendriyā.
 evaṁ karoti yā nārī vratam etad anuttamam,
 bhrātaraḥ, pitarāu, putrāḥ, gvaḡurān, svajanās tathā
 cirāyuṣas tathārogyā syuḡ ca janmaḡatatrāyam,
 bhartrā ca sahītā sādhlvī brahmaloke mahiyate.
 iti vratārke skande sodyāpanaṁ vāṭasāvitṛīvrataṁ

Thus we may leave the Vratārka and its companion the Caturvargacintāmaṇi. What we have found there on this subject, one might almost be justified in calling utter nonsense. Still something may be had from an excursion into a lower stratum of Indian literature. (Could the Vratārka and Hemādri's work possibly be called literature?) One finds in the jargon of these superstitious rites the same burden of human ignorance, the destruction of which is ever the object of human effort. Instead of the courts of kings and the marvelous deeds of heroes and demigods, instead of the intricate philosophy and elaborated wisdom to be found in more noble works of Hindu genius, we are shown here by the faulty phrases of the Vratārka the humble village, with its spreading banyan tree near by, and we are able to touch at one small and to us insignificant point the life of the people whose millions still populate India.

Vohumanah in the Gāthas.—By LAWRENCE H. MILLS,
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In examining the passages in which Vohumanah occurs I will classify them in the following manner. First of all I will reproduce those in which the words indicate the beneficent disposition of the Deity as his attribute; secondly, those which treat this attribute as personified; thirdly, those which express the analogous subjective quality in the accredited citizen of the Zarathushtrian Commonwealth; fourthly, this characteristic as embodied in the individual believer (so, rather than as 'embodied in the entire community,' for the reason that *asha* was the concept generally used to represent the Community, although it is possible that *vohumanah* may be also occasionally applied in this last sense). In Y. 28, 6: *vohā gaidē manānhā, daidē aśā-dāo dare-gāyā*¹ we have *vohumanah* the good mind as the attribute of God. 'Come with thy good mind and give to us *asha* gifts,' this hardly means 'come in company of Vohumanah as the Archangel,' but 'come with thy benevolence to give' is the more immediate idea. At Y. 31, 17: *zdi nē mazdā ahurā vanhēuš fraḍakhštā manānhā*, the meaning as it lies before us in the text sways between 'be thou the enlightener of the good man v. m.,' or 'be thou the revealer of thy good mind.' In Y. 32, 2: *aēibyō mazdāo ahurō sāremnō vohā manānhā . . . paiti-mraoṭ*, Ahura 'answers with his good mind' evidently meaning, 'as actuated by his sane benevolence' as his attribute. In Y. 32, 6: *hātā-marānē ahurā vahištā vōistā manānhā*, it is with his divine attribute v. m., that is to say, with his sane benevolence that he knew the essential truths, holding them in memory; so in Y. 33, 10: *vohā ukhsyā manānhā . . . tanām*, the divine benevolence is indicated: 'cause our person to grow in prosperity through v. m.' So in Y. 33, 12: *dasvā . . . v. m. fšēratām*.* (In Y. 33, 13 the personification seems to be the more prominent phase of the idea.)

¹ All the various views of these several passages worth recording are to be found in text or in alternatives in my *Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas*, pp. 650, Leipzig, 1892-94; also in Vol. III, a *Dictionary of the Gāthic Language of the Zend Avesta*, in the course of publication (section by section).

In Y. 34, 6 I now more decidedly prefer 'if ye are thus really endowed with justice (*ašd*) and with benevolence,' and I would so correct the passage on *Asha* in other parts of this Journal.

In Y. 34, 15: *mazdā at mōi . . . vaocā . . . tā tā vohū manānhā*, Ahura is besought 'speak thou forth with the good mind;' here without doubt, the divine characteristic is exclusively indicated; and exclusion of the cognate ideas is not usual. In Y. 44, 1 we have probably 'with benevolence,' *v. jimaṣ m.* So in Y. 44, 6: *tuḡibyo khṣathrem vohā cinas manānhā*. 'To these may'st thou** assign the kingdom through thy divine benevolence' is better than to render 'by the help of the holy saint,' 'the Citizen par eminence *v. m.*, i. e., the Monarch.' So in Y. 45, 10: *hyat hōi . . . vohucā cōišṭ manānhā*, 'since with his justice and his supreme benevolence (good mind) he has assigned weal and the deathless life' . . .

In Y. 46, 10, the benevolence (*v. m.*) might be that of Ahura but I think the character of the reigning government seems more naturally alluded to. In Y. 46, 12: *at īš vohū hēm aibī mōišṭ manānhā*, in case we are not able to render 'yea, those he shall mingle with his own, holy people *vohū manānhā*' (as embodied in His church), and I fear this would be difficult; then we have 'God meeting them with his divine benevolence' (hardly 'in company with Vohumanah his Archangel').

So in Y. 46, 13: . . . *guḡthāo vohū frādāt manānhā*, it seems to be Ahura who 'furthers the settlement animated by his divine benevolence, his good mind.' That he would 'further them with his good citizen,' the 'representative good-minded man' is not so likely, if for no other reason, then because it was the citizen himself who was to be helped. In Y. 46, 14 'the hymns of Vohumanah' may refer to the Archangel, but see elsewhere. (In Y. 47, 1: *speñtā mainyā vahistācā manānhā* . . ., 'with thy best mind (as the divine attribute)' is especially introduced, as it is a strophe of divine counsels, but the rhetorical personification may be included.) If the one like Thee at Y. 48, 3: *thvāvās* mazdā vanhēuš khrathvā manānhā* is, as in Y. 44, 1: *mazdā fryāi thvāvās sahyāt mavaitē*, equivalent to 'Thyself,' we should have an instance of *vohū manānhā* as expressing the attribute of benevolence which characterises Ahura's wisdom. In Y. 49, 1: *ahyā vohū aošō vidā manānhā*, we may say that Ahura is besought to 'bestow (*sic*) the destruction of the Beñdva, animated by his benevolence (toward his oppressed saints in their military disas-

ter).’ Y. 49, 12 most belongs here (see below). If Y. 50, 7, c.: *at vē yaojā zevištīyēng aurvatō* refers to Ahura (so reading *yaojā*), then he is besought ‘to yoke on his mighty steeds in accordance with and animated by his benevolence’ (so alternatively ; but see elsewhere).

In Y. 50, 11: *dātā arihēuš aredat vohū manānhā*, the ‘Creator of the world, or giver of life, is besought to grant help through his good mind’ which immediately suggests the divine attribute. In Y. 51, 2: . . . *khšathrem khšmākem vohū manānhā vahmāi dāidī savānhō*, we have the undoubted action of Ahura, who is besought to ‘bestow the possession of power *ištōiš* (animated) by his good mind.’ In Y. 51, 7: *dāidī mōi . . . mazdā tēvīši utay- xiti manānhā vohū sēnhē*, Ahura is besought to grant the eternal two, Health and Deathlessness (as revealed) in his doctrine through his divine benevolence v. m.’ Perhaps *vohū manānhā* in Y. 51, 15: *hyať mīzhdem z . . . garō demānē ahurō mazdāo jasat pourvyō tā vē vohū manānhā . . . savāiš civīši* as the one by whom ‘Ahura’s reward is given’ might possibly belong rather to the concept of personification ; cp. vd. 19. 31 (102) where ‘Vohumanah arises before the throne.’ But where ‘giving’ is the main thought to be qualified, there the ‘benevolence’ is peculiarly prominent. In Y. 51, 21: *vohū khšathrem manānhā mazdāo dadāt ahurō*, Ahura is literally asked ‘to grant the kingdom through his benevolence’ not, of course, ‘by means of the good citizen,’ not even though the citizen meant was the good-minded man par excellence, since it is the citizen who is to be the recipient of the benefit.

Vohumanah as the personification of the Divine Attribute.¹

As to this see Y. 28, 3, 5, 8(?), 10(?).

In the *asha* section Y. 29, *vohū manah* occurs only three times. In Y. 29, 11: *kudā ašem vohuā manō khšathremcā . . .* when or ‘whence’ were *asha* v. m. and kh. *hastening* together . . . with v. m. and kh.’ the terms designate the personified attribute. In Y. 30, 1: . . . *staotācā ahurāi yēsni(yācā) vānhēuš manānhō*, the words ‘yasnas of Vohumanah’ refer to the person or personification ; so in Y. 30, 7: *ahmāicā khšathrā jasat manānhā vohū ašācā . . .*, an advent of some divine power is announced ; he comes ‘with Khshathra and Vohumanah’, well possibly, though

¹ Later called the *amesha spenta*.

not certainly, as personified (if it be Ahura who 'came' or of whom it is besought 'let him come,' then 'with his benevolence' would be indicated). The 'good abode' (objectivised amenity) of the Good Mind at Y. 30, 10: *at āsištā yaozantē ā hušitōiš vanhēuš mananihō*, carries with it the same concept of personification. In Y. 31, 6: *mazdāi avat khšathrem hyat hōi vohū vakhšat mananihā*, 'let the kingdom (khshathra) be to Mazda such as may flourish through the instrumentality of the guardian spirit the personified Benevolence.' So in Y. 32, 4: *vakhšēntē dāvō-zuštā vanhēuš sizhdyamnā mananihō*: on account of the following *Ahurahyā* and of *Ashdātca* the 'evil man' is perhaps better understood as 'deserted by the Archangel V. M.' than 'by the human believer.' That 'good men would leave him' is a little too commonplace here. So in Y. 32, 15: *tōi ābyā bairyāontē vanhēuš ā demānē mananihō*, we have: let the chiefs be 'borne by the two (Weal and Deathlessness) to the home of the Good Mind (as the personified attribute).' Then comes in the valuable Y. 33, 11: *yē sēvištō* ahurō mazddoscā . . . manascā vohū . . .* where personification is so pronounced as to give occasion for the expressions 'hear' and 'come.'

In the next verse, Y. 33, 12, the personification (in the sociative) is not our first impression.

In Y. 33, 13 we have the '*ashi* of *Vohumanah*' more probably the 'blest-reward given by v. m.' as the personification. So at Y. 34, 3: *gaēthāo . . . yāo v. thraōštā mananihā*, V. M. is the Archangel. (As to Y. 34, 5, we cannot be so sure that the composer wishes to be 'God's own together with the personified Archangel(?)' which seems strained. Also in Y. 34, 6 it is doubtful whether we have the person in 'if ye are really thus, O Asha and with the Good Mind'; better as elsewhere: 'if ye are really endowed with justice and benevolence.') But in Y. 34, 7: *vanhēuš vaēdenā mananihō* I think 'known of the Good Mind (as the Archangelic person),' or 'knowing his lore' is the best rendering; 'known of good men' seems more doubtful.

We may say the same perhaps of 'the far-abiding Vohumanah' in Y. 34, 8: *yōi nōit ašēm mainyañtā aēibyō dāirē vohū as manō* (yet see the alternative 'the estranged church member'). So in Y. 34, 11: *vanhēuš khšathrā mananihō*, the Archangel seems in so far to possess personality, as to be endowed with the Kingly Power. Yet many would stoutly claim that vohumanah here represents the disciple.

But the 'paths of vohumanah' in Y. 34, 12: *sīšā nāo ašā pathō vanhēuš h'ašētēng mananīhō*, may better be those of the good minded (man). So also of 'his way' in Y. 34, 13: *tēm advānem ahurā yēm mōi mraoš vaihēuš mananīhō*. So in Y. 34, 14: *v. šyaothnā m.* of 'his actions'; in all these occurrences the 'good disciple' may be meant. In Y. 43, 2: *v. māyāo, m.*, the wonderful truths 'of the Good Mind' may well imply personification. So perhaps 'the might of the Good Mind' (Y. 43, 4): *v. hazē jimat m.*, implies at least a poetical personification (but the meaning 'might of the good men' also suggests itself). In Y. 43, 6: *jasō m. . . v. m.*, where Ahura 'comes with Vohumanah,' i. e. 'with the Good Mind' (associative), the terms possibly express the personification, yet the attribute lies very near. So in Y. 44, 1 (as to which see above), 'that he may come with Vohumanah' seems hardly so probable as 'that he (?) may come "auspiciously."'

In Y. 44, 9, 'dwelling in the same abode with Vohumanah' implies of course poetical personification, but it may refer 'to the saint.' In Y. 46, 7: *anyēm thvahnāt āthrascā mananīhascā*, 'Whom have I but thee and thy mind' (referring probably to Vohumanah), implies the personification of the latter. (In Y. 46, 10: *vohā khšathrem mananīhā*, 'the realm'; some might say, 'the land' with Vohumanah, might imply the idea of the 'Archangel,' but the government 'by the good man' seems more natural. In Y. 47, 1: *vahištācā m. . . ahmāi dān . . . mazdāo . . .* the personality of the Archangel is only rhetorically, if at all, intentionally expressed: the significance of the subjective meaning (attribute) is strongly present.)

In Y. 48, 6: *hā . . . dāt tēvištm v. m. *berekhdhē (= yāin. *)* (so reading), 'the blessed and continuous might of Vohumanah' (see Gāthas, pp. 292, 572), may well imply the person of the Archangel; but see elsewhere. *ē is false; yā, lost nasalization.

In Y. 48, 7: *yōi ā v. m. dēdraghzhōdūē** (so, not '°dhyē', which is no rational reading), 'ye who desire to hold fast by the Good Mind,' or 'to abide by him,' shows the concept of personification as our more immediate impression, so perhaps in Y. 48, 9, *v. vafuš m.*

(In Y. 49, 3: *tā v. sarē izyāi m.*, 'I seek for the protecting headship of Vohumanah,' hardly belongs here.)

In 49, 5: *yē daēnām v. sārštā m.*, 'the protector of the faith may act either through a good mind as inspired within himself

by the Deity,' or 'with the help of the subdeity Vohumanah.' (Whether in Y. 49, 12: *kaṭ tōi . . . avaiñhō Z.*, *kaṭ tōi v.m.*, the instrumental refers more immediately to the Archangel or to the attribute is doubtful. 'Hast thou, O Ahura, help for Z. (thou, O Ahura, acting) with thy divine benevolence,' this seems the most natural; see Ahura below. We can hardly make out a case for an instr. (for nominative) with subject understood (inherent as it were) 'thou-with-good-mind' (this as all included within the two words V. M. in the instr. case; see Gāthas, p. 322, for alternative).

In Y. 50, 1: *kē mē nā . . . anyō . . . v. m.* we have the personification in a full form (of course), 'whom have I as deliverer but the Best Mind.' (Not so certainly by any means in Y. 50, 4, possibly: 'Thus praising I will sacrifice to you with Asha and the Best Mind.' But see elsewhere where 'with the ritual and the best intention' is suggested.) In Y. 51, 16 the metric 'feet of the Good Mind' may possibly mean more immediately of the good man, par-eminence 'the prophet;' but it is impossible to shut out the thought of 'the Archangel.' The kingdom of the Good Mind as the personified attribute at Y. 51, 18, is certainly more natural than the 'government of benevolence' (in the abstract); but if the good mind here referred to the 'good-minded Citizen par-eminence, the Head of the State,' the interpretation would look very natural; see below, p. 75 f. In Y. 51, 20: *taṭ vē nē hazaošdōñhō vīspdōñhō dauidyāi savō ašem vohū manaiñhā . . .* the concept of the personified attribute is of course the immediate subject. In Y. 53, 3: *v. paityāstēm* (so reading) *m.* we have an interesting uncertainty; each of the three or four related ideas is possible. 'the support of the Good Mind' might at first sight seem more definitely personal, in reference to 'man.' 'May Ahura give thee (thy bridegroom) the (to thee) good-minded-one (par-eminence) as the help of a good man;' see 'Asha' following, and we may also well (?) say: 'as a support of thy good mind within thee'; or 'of the law of God's benevolence (which sustains thine entire life)'. But 'as the servant of the personified attribute' is probable on account of the following and 'of Mazda,' related ideas. But in Y. 53, 4, . . . *m. v. h'ēnvat hañhuš . . .* 'the bright' (or 'beatifying') blessing of the Good Mind' would more naturally recall to most of us first of all the Archangel or subdeity).

Vohumanah as the approved mental disposition of the orthodox citizen.

In Y. 28, 2: *yē vāo mazdā ahurā pairi-jasāi vohū mananīhā*, 'I will compass (your altar) with a good mind' refers to a devout disposition in the worshipper. In Y. 28, 4: *yē ruvānem* (so) *mēñ gairē vohū dadē hathrā mananīhā*, 'I . . . will devote my mind to . . . watchfulness, (to praise, or to the Mount (-im* of Heaven)) ever with a good mind' refers to a devotional frame. In Y. 30, 2 . . . *vahištā āvaēnatā sūcā mananīhā* . . . 'behold the flames with the best disposition of mind,' refers to the same. (In Y. 30, 10, . . . *ā hušitōiš vāñhēuš mananīhō* . . . , 'in the good abode (the particularised amenity) of a good mind,' as meaning 'where mental goodness reigns' is only the included idea (see above)). In Y. 31, 4: . . . *vahištā iśasā mananīhā* . . . , 'I will pray with the best mind,' needs no explanation. In Y. 31, 5: *vīdvē* vohū mananīhā* . . . 'for my knowing with a good mind' is also clear. In Y. 32, 11: *yōi vahištā āshāunō m., rāresyām mananīhō*, 'who keep back the saints from the best mind' refers most probably to subjective characteristics, yet some might prefer 'from the company of the faithful.' So in Y. 32, 12, 'who keep men by their doctrine from the best deed' refers to personal religious characteristics.

(It would, therefore, be forced at Y. 32, 11, to say 'who keep men back from association with the good-minded man', 'tempting them to bad company'.) In Y. 33, 7: *dar(e)šatcā ašā vohū mananīhā yā sruvē* (so) *parē magāunō*, 'let him see how I am listened to with fidelity, and with *vohū mananīhā*,' that is to say, 'with a good disposition of mind.' In Y. 33, 8: . . . *yā v. syavāi m.*, 'that with good mind I may approach to further them,' refers to the mental attitude of the worshipper. In Y. 33, 9: *vahištā baretā mananīhā*, 'let (one(?)) bear on . . . with the best mind' refers to the mental disposition.

In Y. 34, 5: *vohū m. thrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākem*, 'with Asha and vohumanah to nurture your poor,' refers to the same. In Y. 34, 10: *ahyā v. m. syaothnā*, refers to the general tone of benevolence in the Religion. In Y. 43, 1 we can hardly render 'riches, blest rewards, the preservation of our chieftain's life'; this last for the 'life of the good mind.' A more obvious idea would be, 'the life of the good-minded saint'; but why not 'of a good disposition'? (In Y. 43, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15: *hyat mā v. pairi-jasat m.* 'that he may come to me endowed with the good mind,' so read, may well refer to the subjective characteristic; but many would prefer (with me at present) to say 'that he

may come to me in company with the good man,' i. e. that the ally (Sraosha) might come with the representative citizen (see the place also treated elsewhere, especially in my new edition.))

So in Y. 44, 1: *yathā nē ā vohū jimaṭ m.*, 'that he characteristically endowed with the good mind may come to us,' would be better than if the words were taken merely to qualify the mental disposition of a human 'approacher' at the given moment.

In Y. 44, 8 we have *yācā v. ukhāhā fraṣi manaiṇhā*, 'the hymns which I asked-for with a good intention of mind.' In Y. 44, 16: *aṭ hōi vohū sraoṣō jañtā manaiṇhā*, one would say at first sight that we have 'then come the obedient with good disposition to him to whomsoever . . .' referring to the immediate disposition of the one expected to approach (yet compare Y. 43, 7, 9, etc., above. We might decide on 'then come the loyal ally with the good citizen.') In Y. 45, 6: *yehyā valmē vohū fraṣi manaiṇhā*, 'in praise of whom I asked questions (as in Y. 44) with a good intention' is sufficiently plain.

In Y. 46, 3: *kaṣibyō āthāi v. jimaṭ manaiṇhā*, 'to whom for aid shall he endowed with the good disposition come' is of course better than 'in company with the good man.' In Y. 46, 9. e.: *iṣēnti mā tā tōi v. m.*, 'that they may seek as mine from thee with good disposition of mind' is better than 'in company with the orthodox saint' (see Gāthas for alternative).

So in Y. 46, 10 . . . : *aṣīm aṣāi v. khṣathrem manaiṇhā . . .*, 'an ashi to asha' (see elsewhere), that is to say 'a reward to a servant of the community,' and 'the sovereign power with a good disposition' is the natural rendering; ('in company with the good-minded one as a typical saint,' would be forced ('by him' would be possible). (Not so surely in Y. 46, 14: *tēng zbayā vanhēuš ukhāhāiṣ manaiṇhō*, 'with the hymns of a good and devout disposition' would be a little too 'searching' to be natural here; but 'with the hymns devoted to tho Archangel,' and 'with the hymns of the individual believer,' the 'inspired *Rshi*' are each possible.)

In Y. 46, 18: *mahyāo iṣtōiṣ v. cōiṣem manaiṇhā*, 'I impart or "assign" . . . of my wealth with a good mind' needs no comment.

In Y. 48, 12: *yōi khṣnām v. manaiṇhā hacōntē*, 'who prosecute thy worship with a good disposition of mind' seems natural enough. Some would hold Y. 49, 2 e.: *naṣdā v. mazdā fraṣtā manaiṇhā . . .* to mean 'nor has he asked questions with sin-

cerity,' but 'nor has he taken counsel with the good man' is more striking.

In Y. 49, 5 : *yē daēnām v. sārštā manan̄hā*, we may well have (among the other views) 'who has guarded the Faith with a good disposition of mind,' see the alternatives elsewhere (but hardly here 'in company with either Vohumanah, the Archangel,' or "in company with" the good citizen').

In Y. 50, 4 : *at vāo yazdi stavas mazdā ahurā . . . vahištād m.*, we have 'so would I worship with ashā, the ritual, and with *vahištā manan̄hā*, the best disposition.'

In Y. 50, 6 : . . . *mahyā rāzēng v. sakh̄t manan̄hā* . . . 'may he proclaim my decrees with a good disposition of mind' is the natural rendering.

In Y. 50, 7 : *at vē yaojā . . . ugrēng v. manan̄hā* (if the first person is preferred as expressed by *yaojā*), we have 'with a good disposition of mind.' (If the 2d sg. imperative is present, the passage belongs above under vohumanah as the divine attribute; see above).

'The good mind' as the 'good man' in whom the 'good mind' rules as the spiritual law of his being; and this as a quasi technical expression for the orthodox citizen.

In Y. 28, 1 : *v. m.* should be taken in this sense.

In Y. 28, 7 : *van̄hēuš āyaptā m.*, should refer to 'the attained prizes of the good-minded' (see below); (but many would prefer 'the prizes' offered by the Archangel).

In Y. 28, 8 : *yaēibyusā it rāon̄han̄hōi vispāi yavē v. manan̄hō*, 'for all the ages of the Good Mind,' seems to me to give, as its first impression the idea, of the 'dispensation,' or 'continued existence of the 'church' much in that same sense present when the term '*asha*' refers to the 'holy community.'

So in Y. 28, 11 : *yē diš ašem nīdān̄hē manasā vohū yavaē-tātē*, the 'good mind' represents the 'good man' in his citizenship in the Holy State, for the prophet is 'appointed (set) to protect him.' ('To protect the law' is an idea more familiar to us, but hardly the first impression which an expert would get from the passage.)

(In Y. 30, 10, which is elsewhere touched upon, the 'good mind' would not so immediately refer to the 'good-minded man'.)

One might hesitate at Y. 31, 6 : *mazdāi avat̄ kh̄šathrem hyat̄ hōi vohū vak̄h̄šat manan̄hā*, for an abstract term in the instru-

mental case makes it doubtful that the human subject could be indicated in the passage. The instrumental case naturally suggests coöperation in the form of 'help,' whereas the faithful disciple is everywhere before us as the typical supplicator for help and its conditional recipient. But at Y. 31, 7, the personality *v. m.* as the good man is in evidence; and it is also possible at Y. 31, 8, 31, 10 and 31, 17: but see also the others cited below.

At Y. 31, 21: *mazdāto dādāt ahurō . . . vanhēuš vazdvarē mananhō*, we again prefer the 'good citizen.'

(In Y. 32, 4, elsewhere more fully touched upon 'departing from the good mind' might refer to the 'good-minded man' (departing from the company of the faithful: but this is not preferred)).

In Y. 32, 15, 'the abode of the good-minded saint' does not seem to be exclusively the meaning, or the most immediate one, while in Y. 33, 7, 'the good-minded citizen' is only remotely possible; 'let one see how I am listened to by the individual citizen (?) (*vohū mananhā*), and by the congregation (?) *ašā*'; better as elsewhere (see above). In Y. 33, 13, and in Y. 34, 8, 'the faithful' is only a possible rendering (see under the Personification). But in Y. 34, 12, 'the paths of the good mind,' refer as much to the 'good-minded man' as to the Archangel who points out the way. So in Y. 34, 13, 'the way of the good-minded man' is more naturally meant.

In Y. 43, 1: *rāyō ašiš vanhēuš gayem** (not *gaēm*, that word is impossible) *mananhō*, I can well imagine some writers (who might wish to push realism to the extreme) rendering '(give me) the life of the good mind,' that is to say, 'preserve to me the life of our venerated chief.' Yet this would seem much strained in such a piece as Y. 43. But in the recurring passages Y. 43, 7, 9, 13, 15, 'when . . . came to me with the good mind,' we might well understand 'Sraosha' (from strophe 12), as the especially 'obedient' disciple, the 'harmonized ally' coming 'with the orthodox citizen' *v. m.* for he, the subject, whoever he may have been, came (or 'was to come') as a 'person,' and asked a question. Or this *v. mananhā* may be an instrumental with an inherent nominative 'when the one-endowed with the good mind came to me.'

In Y. 44, 4: *kasnā vanhēuš mazdā dāmiš mananhō*, *vohu-manah*, as I now hold, is obviously used to represent the good-minded human being as the principal object in the creation (with the earth, sky, rivers, trees, winds and clouds, mentioned in the apex of the immediate connection).

In Y. 44, 9: *hademōi ašā vohuclā syās manaiṇhā*, the idea of the 'good-minded man' is subordinate to that of the divine Personification ('dwelling with asha' (as the community) and with v. m. (as the individual saint) would seem far-fetched. But in Y. 44, 13, the *frasyā vaiñhēuš cākhnarē manaiṇhō*, the idea of the faithful may well be present, 'nor have they loved the inquiries and counsels of the good-minded man.'

In Y. 44, 16: *aṭ hōi vohū sraošō jañtā manaiṇhā*, 'let Sraosha come with Vohumanah' may mean (as in Y. 43, 7, 9, etc.), 'let the loyal ally (the especially heedful or obedient one) come with the regular citizen' (see above).

In Y. 45, 4: *ptarēm vaiñhēuš var(e)zayañtō manaiṇhō*, 'the father of the toiling good mind' refers to the 'good-minded citizen.' In Y. 45, 9, I think we have 'from the nobility of the good-minded one.'

In Y. 46, 2: *akhsō vaiñhēuš ašā īštīm m.*, 'reveal the riches of the good mind' had better be rendered 'of the good-minded man'; so also if 'hear the prayer of the good-minded' is preferred. The subjective abstract might be present, 'the riches of a good mind'(?), 'the prayer of a good mind'; but the more realistic concept is always to be chosen where it is at all possible.

In Y. 46, 16: *yathrā vaiñhēuš manaiṇhō īštā khšathrem* (so here preferred; ('*khšathrā*' in the Gāthas, p. 268)) the good-minded person is possible (reading *khšathrem*) 'where the kingdom is in the possession of the good man' (not, if we accept *khšathrā*).

In Y. 47, 2: *hizvā ukhdhāiš vaiñhēuš . . . manaiṇhō*, 'from the tongue of the good-minded saint' is meant (some particularly eminent individual Rshi, among the group of representatives).

In Y. 48, 6: *hā . . . dāt tēvīšīm vaiñhēuš manaiṇhō*, the 'continuous strength of the good-minded saint' may be the meaning.

(In Y. 48, 8, the 'grace of the good-mind' might be meant 'equalling the good-minded (man)'; but as the princely prophet is mentioned as the 'recipient' in the next line we should understand an especial saintly person or the Archangel.)

In Y. 48, 11: *kēng ā v. jimaṭ manaiṇhō cistiš*, 'the *cisti* (saga-city) of a good-minded man (some preëminent military chief) might be meant; but ('*cisti* inspired by) the Archangel' seems on the whole better just here.

In Y. 49, 2: *naēdā v. . . fraštā manaiṇhā*, we may have 'nor had he questioned (held counsel) with the good man' (if so, it refers emphatically to some one of the princely group).

In Y. 49, 3: *tā vanhēuš sarē izyāi mananhō* . . . 'therefore I will seek the sheltering-authority of the good-minded (one, the representative saint or priestly prince)' might stand..

In Y. 49, 10: *taṭ cā thvahnē ādām nīpdonihē manō vohā urunascā aṣṭunām*, we have the signal case for the Gāthas, where vohumanah occurs in antithesis with 'the souls of saints'; that is to say 'the good man now living and the souls of the saintly departed.'

In Y. 49, 12, it would be strained to say 'what help is there to Thee from the congregation (*ashā*) and from the good man' *vohā mananhā*.

In Y. 50, 9: *aṣṭ vanhēuš syaotlnāiš mananhō*, we have 'with ritual and deeds (ceremonies?, but see the Ved.) of the good-minded man.'

In Y. 51, 3: *hizvā ulchdhāiš vanhēuš mananhō*, 'hymns(?) from the tongue of the good-minded (man, some eminent princely priest),' is the immediate idea intended by the composer to be conveyed.

In Y. 51, 11: *kē vā vanhēuš mananhō acistā magāi ereṣvō* . . . ? we should first say 'who hath cared for the maga of the good man, the leading saint'; but the Archangel is likewise suggested.

In Y. 51, 16: *vanhēuš padebīš mananhō*, possibly 'with the metric feet of the saintly prophet (vohumanah),' but 'of the Archangel' would not be bad (metres used in chanting hymns addressed to him, see above).

(In Y. 51, 18: *khṣathrem mananhō vanhēuš vīdō*,* 'the Realm of the good mind' may well have been understood as 'of the good man,' referring to the orthodox monarch as the Head of the spiritual State (but see above). As to Y. 53, 4: see above; the 'glorious blessing of Vohumanah,' rather than 'of the good-minded princely citizen' is our first thought.)

In Y. 53, 5: *abyustā ahām yē vanhēuš mananhō* . . . 'strive after the life of the good-minded man' is best.

But it is hardly a secondary object with me here to bring into clear light that most difficult fact (before noticed) with reference to the use of all these terms, the fact, viz: that the meanings applied to them not only differ so seriously as we have seen that they do, but that these differing shades of this great idea of vohumanah follow closely and abruptly one upon the other, with little or no transitional modification.

In order to show this in an unmistakable form I will give myself the laborious trouble to review some of the occurrences of Vohumanah no longer sifted out in logical order in view of the shades of ideas to which they refer, but just as they occur in the natural flow of the strophes. And I will ask the reader to fasten his attention on those strange circumstances which have made these venerable fragments what Darmesteter so justly called the 'enigma' (of oriental literature). And together with this I will endeavour to increase the distinctness of our recognition of the fact that the exegesis is sometimes uncertain.

After scholarship has exhausted every possible source of information respected by any school, at times even then we cannot tell which one of the four related concepts was most prominently present in the composer's mind when he first chanted certain strophes. And of course my own opinions have changed as to various details since 1892-94, when I published the Five Zarathustrian Gâthas; and I make an especial endeavour to multiply the alternatives, as the only scientific procedure.

At the outset vohumanah met us in its most familiar, but by no means most frequent, application as expressing more immediately the 'good-minded man,' the orthodox, or 'saintly,' citizen.

In Y. 28, 1: *yasâ . . . v. khratûm mananhô* . . ., 'I pray for the understanding of the good-minded (man)' we found to be most probably the meaning, while at the immediately following strophe we have the undoubted sense 'with a good disposition of mind,' in 'I who encompass you with a good mind' (Y. 28, 2), and at the next further strophe in Y. 28, 3, we have Vohumanah as the Subdeity or Archangel, 'I who will praise you, Asha and Vohumanah.' Here are three out of the four differing shades of meaning closely grouped with neither space nor explanatory statements between them at the very beginning of the first Gâtha that meets us as they are now arranged in the MS. (not necessarily at all however the first in the order of original composition).

Having decided (see above) that the words 'I who will devote my soul's attention to watchfulness (or 'to Heaven,' that is to say 'to the Mount Alborj' (so)) would be more naturally followed by *vohû mananhâ* in the sense of 'with a good disposition of mind' in the individual worshipper (though of the humblest rank), note that at the closely following Y. 28, 5, the words in the accusative (so probably, or vocative) express the Personified Attribute again as the Subdeity or Archangel. While the words in the next further following strophe express immediately and for the first

time the clear conception of the Divine Attribute as a purely intellectual and moral concept.

In connection with 'giving asha-gifts' '*vohā manāhā* with benevolence' must be here the idea conveyed by the words (in the adverbial instrumental, and not in the sociative 'in company with thy personified attribute vohumanah' which would be impossible), while at the very next metrical lines the first form of the idea reappears in the words: 'give the attained prizes of the good-minded one' (i. e. of the good man); see the following 'to Vištāspa and to me.'

And this is still further expounded into the broader idea of a 'dispensation of good men' (so to speak) in Y. 28, 8 (see above), 'For all the ages of Vohumanah' must mean 'of the good-minded one or ones.'

Once more at the next strophe the Archangelic personification presents itself with, however, the varying adjective *vahišta* the best; while at strophe Y. 28, 10, 'the laws of the Good Mind' probably refers to the Personification, but in a barely figurative sense, the section ending as it began with Vohumanah as the 'Good-minded (citizen) the saint.' Without dwelling just here upon the subtle manner in which the main idea interpenetrates the less profound but obvious ones immediately presented, we cannot but express once more our wonder. The documents have been tested, as is known, in every way that can be devised. They are personal, excessively so (all is 'I,' and 'Thou,' and 'You' in them). They express a certain emotion, sometimes subdued, but sometimes passionate; they depict (without intending it) a state of public conflict as well as the doctrinal longings of a quasi-philosophical¹ school. They are remotely ancient and related to the Veda, as all things combine to show; and yet here are some of the signal sentences which stood as the supporting columns of a religious intellectual temple (in which this strangely developed population passed their mental existence); and they are seemingly 'played with.' Four distinct, but yet closely related ideas expressed by them are rapidly interchanged without warning!

It certainly looks like the pedantic antic of a closely knit school of so-called experts, each aware within narrow limits of the sense intended for the identical term or terms. And yet this

¹ Cf. 'the laws by which at the first this world arose,' Y. 28, 11.

phraseology was published in a chanted hymn addressed to devout rustics coming in on especial occasions (yearly festivals, perhaps) 'from near and from afar!' Where is the parallel of such a state of things in a religious community? Perhaps in such a public as the Commonwealth in England when the rank and file were familiar with the great commonplaces of the old so-called evangelical theology, but where else?

In Y. 29, 7 we should more naturally say, 'whom hast thou endowed with a good disposition of mind who shall give forth these teachings to the people' rather than 'whom hast thou in company with the private saint,' also rather than 'who shall do (this same thing) by the help of thine Archangel Vohumanah,' but this allusion to the good disposition of the human saint is followed in Y. 29, 10 (two strophes in advance) by an appeal to the characteristic of Benevolence in the Deity made certain by the verb 'give ye' in the imperative, while the words themselves '*vohu manahâ*' are in the adverbial instrumental.

At the very next strophe again we have the Personification presented in such a key as is sounded in the words 'Come Ye.'

So in Y. 30, 1, the yasnas to Vohumanah as the 'Archangel or Subdeity' is better, as we have seen, than the 'yasnas of (dative for genitive) the faithful worshipper,' but at the next strophe, Y. 30, 2, 'behold ye the flames with the best mind' refers to the mental disposition of the worshipper, and does not at all mean 'behold the flames in company with the good believer'; while in Y. 30, 7, the terms refer again to the personified concept last left at Y. 30, 1.

Upon this follows the interesting uncertainty in Y. 30, 10, where our first interpretation of the words 'in the well-disposed abode of *vohumanah*' might mean 'in the home of the good man'; but see '*Vohumanah*' in the lead, with the words 'of Asha' and 'of Mazda' following, which fixes the very valuable passage as a certain delineation of Heaven. We may render freely and metrically: 'but swiftest in the good Abode of Vohumanah, Asha and Mazda hasten (or 'gather') those who are produced (or 'are advancing') in good fame.'¹

In Y. 31, 4, the person represented would not so naturally be said to pray 'in company with the private communicant *vohumanah*'; nor 'with his help,' but as 'inspired by the best mind,'

¹ See the Five Zarathûstrian Gâthas at the places, p. 447.

as either 'the Archangel' or the 'internal disposition (vohumanah).' So also 'to know through the good mind' cannot mean 'through the good man' in Y. 31, 5.

Whether the idea 'good man' (in the next strophe, v. 31, 6) is somewhat included in the 'growing' (or 'increase') of God's Kingdom or not, is a question. His good mind as the subdeity cannot, however, be excluded, and would be here our first preferred rendering.

But in the next following strophe, Y. 31, 7, Ahura is the 'Creator of asha the law, by which he may sustain the good mind.' Here the 'good-minded man (in general)' would seem to be alluded to, if ever.

I was not at all so sure as to Y. 31, 8: God as the 'father of the faithful saint vohumanah' is a most natural rendering, but the attention of the composer may have been fixed upon distinguishing Ahura from the other Immortals; and it is here my especial duty to notice the multiplicity of ideas included in the singular terminology under discussion.

In Y. 31, 10, the typical husbandman might very naturally be said to be the 'prospered of the good man Vohumanah,' but he was himself the 'good minded-man'; the subdeity was therefore here indicated.

While in Y. 31, 17 (not far in advance), we might regard 'he to us the enlightener of the good man' as a good rendering; but 'illustrator' or 'expounder' of Thy good mind, as 'benevolent wisdom,' is also very possible, having the advantage of the literal meaning; yet in Y. 31, 21, in spite of all that may have preceded, the 'good mind' positively refers to the 'good-minded saint.'

In Y. 32, 2, only a few strophes distant, it would be exceedingly unnatural, that is to say 'uncritical,' for us to speak of 'Ahura as 'guarding' (or 'ruling') by means of his faithful subject,' even when understood as the 'good-minded man (the king) vohumanah: so of the passage two strophes further on at Y. 32, 4, after 'beloved of the Daêva gods,' 'departing from the good mind' would more naturally refer to the Archangel, (though we might still be tempted to say 'beloved of the Daêva party and cast out by the good citizen vohumanah'). While as a contrast to either of the renderings, in Y. 32, 11 (not far off), we have the words 'from the best mind,' evidently used in its natural sense, and not in the sense of the 'good man' *because the*

'good man' 'the saint' is already expressed emphatically in the immediate connection by a separate and a proper word '*ashaonō*.'

While again in Y. 32, 15, the 'abode of the good mind' would suit very well to the idea of the 'heavenly home of the good man, the saint': if it were not for such passages as Y. 30, 10, where the saints are said to 'hasten (or to 'unite') in the good abode (well-appointed amenity) of Vohumanah, Asha, each named with Mazda at their apex, and evidently understood as His Archangels in Heaven, a very different idea from the 'best mind' of Y. 32, 11 (four strophes before Y. 32, 15); so also of the 'streets where Ahura dwells (see below).'

In Y. 33, 3, we should indeed very naturally render, 'let him who is best to the saint be in the pasture of our saintly Community,' lit. 'of the good mind'; but we have the idea of the 'saint' again fully expressed in another word '*ashaonē*' in the immediate connection. The Guardian Personification is therefore most prominently intended.

So in Y. 33, 5, we should quite naturally say 'gaining long life in the kingdom of the good-minded typical saint (our holy sovereign),' but then see the following allusion to the 'paths in which Ahura dwells,' which rather enforces the acceptance of the Ameshaspends. But in Y. 33, 7, we have 'the subjective mental state' as the more immediate idea conveyed. 'Let one see in company with the congregation "*Ashā*," and of the individual believer (Vohumanah), how I am listened to' . . . is not at all so probable (if indeed possible), as 'let one see aright (*ashā*) and with sympathetic good will' *vohā manānhā* 'how I am heard.' . . . And yet this version of vohumanah contrasts with that last considered in the almost immediately contiguous connection at Y. 33, 5.

While in Y. 33, 8: 'obtain for me' or 'make known to me' (not a great difference in exegesis) then the good rites, that I may fulfil them inspired by thy good mind, or 'with good will' is better than 'in company with the good man,' for see what follows which is an allusion to the 'praises of Asha' more naturally referring to the Personification.

So again in Y. 33, 9. 'Let them bear the spirit of the two leaders to the shining home with the best-mind (the highest good will),' is better than 'in company with the saint or by his help.' 'The two leaders who helped on asha' were themselves prominent representatives of vohumanah as meaning the 'typical saint,' and so would not expect help from one of their own number.

So again in Y. 33, 10, we have, 'make our bodily strength to increase through goodness of mind, justice and civic order,' so, first, but the 'guardian spirits Vohumanah, Asha and Khshathra' is decidedly better than the other view, 'cause our bodily life to prosper through the good citizen, the holy community in general, and the "Government" in particular.' And the recognition of the concept of the Personification is also decidedly better in view of the most significant, Y. 33, 11. Here these same Vohumanah, Asha, and Khshathra with Âramaiti are invoked and besought 'to come.' (Should we say 'hear me thou who art the good citizen, the holy community, and the government, come and cleanse and pardon me'; hardly. Even to report 'O Benevolence, O Sanctity, O Sovereign Authority, and O Holy Zeal, hear Ye me and cleanse' would be difficult as surpassing even 'the subdeity' in its sublimity. The Archangels are meant; see Ahura at the head of them.)

But in Y. 33, 12, the next strophe, we have 'gifts' prayed for through asha, vohumanah, etc.; and this latter here means 'the disposition of mind.' The person of the 'good citizen' as represented by vohumanah is of course excluded. The 'good man' was the person who needed the proposed favors, and could in no sense be regarded as sharing in the act of 'gift.' Nor can it be said that the other great Personifications hold their own just here; though we had them in such striking form in the preceding verse. The words should undoubtedly be rendered as expressing the subjective disposition of the Being invoked 'give me power through Thy holy zeal (*âramaiti*), with fidelity (*ašâ*), and with kindness (*vohu manahâ*)?

But in Y. 33, 13, and again the next strophe, the 'ashi's of Vohumanah refer to the Archangel Vohumanah.' They might indeed well mean the 'rewards of the good man,' if it were not for '*ašâ*' in the last line, which once more introduces the adverbial instrumental of help; and this forbids the presence of the idea of the human subject in those immediate words, obliging us to refer them to the Higher Powers; but in the next following and closing strophe of the section, we might safely say that the 'prestige of vohumanah' was Zarathuštra's 'leadership of the citizens.' That he should have been said to offer the 'priority of the good mind' in the high subjective sense seems almost too hyper-spiritual as an object for offering (yet some expositors might well prefer it).

In Y. 34, 3, where 'offerings' are spoken of for 'all the farms in the Realm' which are cultivated by Vohumanah as the 'good citizen,' this latter rendering looks very natural. But as line 4 speaks of offerings to Asha, Vohumanah would not be so naturally used in the same breath (so to speak) in a sense not in analogy. Moreover the Personified Attribute as the Archangel is here: he who 'shelters the farms.' While in contrast at the next but one following strophe, Y. 34, 5, the individual characteristic of the human subject is plainly indicated. The 'shelter of the poor (saint)' is not spoken of as a duty to be done 'with the help of the community (asha),' and 'with that of the individual citizen (vohumanah).' These were the parties to be assisted, and not the means of assistance. Not even 'with Asha (as the Archangel)' is to be accepted; nor 'with the help of Vohumanah.'

But the supplicator wishes for 'sovereign power, and wealth that he may nourish the poor community with fidelity (ashā) and is with benevolence (*vohū manañhā*). While in the next strophe these great adverbials either qualify the activity of Ahura, and not, as in the previous verse, that of the speaker: 'if Ye (plural of majesty) are really thus, true (endowed with justice (ashā) and benevolent (*vohū manañhā*), show me a sign in every house of this people (or 'in all my sojourning in this life') . . . we have either this, which contrasts so decidedly with personification, or else we have what contrasts as much with what precedes it: 'If ye are thus really together with Asha and Vohumanah . . . (Notice the impossibility of, 'if ye,' O Ahura, are thus together with the community (asha) and the individual saint (vohumanah) . . .).

Yet at Y. 34, 8, closely following, we have 'from those who do not consider the law (asha) from these afar abideth Vohumanah,' (not perhaps so naturally 'the good-minded man will hold aloof,' but 'the Guardian Spirit of goodness will remain afar from him,')

In the next following, Y. 34, 9, we have the same idea slightly varied 'They who abandon Devoted Zeal (*āramaiti*) in their ignorance of the good mind, Vohumanah, can hardly mean 'in their non-acquaintance with the good man.' The 'spirit of benevolence' as the main idea of the Faith is indicated, or else that spirit personified.

In Y. 34, 10, 'the deeds of the good mind' is better understood as expressing the 'active side of religion' than the conduct of the

'private citizen, vohumanah' (however exalted) *because the 'individual' is already sufficiently expressed in the term hu-kratuš.* While in the next following strophe, Y. 34, 11, the 'government of the good-minded' probably refers indirectly to one of the saintly princes, but the grouping of all the seven names looks as if the 'personalities' were purposely introduced (yet see the words 'through these, O Mazda, art thou safe from thy foes'). While again in the next immediately following strophe the 'paths trod by the good-minded man (vohumanah)' seems to be decidedly the most natural view; but our impressions may vary at different times. And so in Y. 34, 13, we have 'the way of the good-minded man (vohumanah).' Neither of the views, however, totally excludes the alternative interpretation, which was 'the way pointed out by the Archangel Vohumanah.' And so of the 'actions of the good-minded (man)' in Y. 34, 14, while in the next and culminating strophe this idea seems utterly impossible. 'Tell me this with the good man' (*vohā manāhā*) is, of course, nonsense, as would be also 'tell it to me with the congregation (*ashā*).' 'Tell me kindly (with good mind)' is the idea beyond any reasonable doubt, and 'tell me truly (*ashā* with truth).'

This may suffice for the Gāthas Ahunavaiti; and it also renders any further close tracing of the contrasts in the other Gāthas unnecessary. The interpretation chosen by me in each occurrence may be seen above and by searching out the citations of the different passages the student can judge for himself how strangely abrupt the transition from one of these uses to the others is. To any one at all aware of the extraordinary difficulties of the Gāthas it is not necessary for me to say that I endeavour to differ here from my chosen opinions in my book of 1892-94, just as I endeavoured in that extended work to advance upon those in the thirty-first volume of the Sacred Books of the East, 1887. And in the third part of the Gāthas, 'A Dictionary of the Gāthic Language of the Zend Avesta,' I am as ever varying freely, but alternatively, from previous conclusions. A convention of opinion on such an extraordinary theme can only be reached by labour as exhaustive as it is widespread; and to elaborate complete discussions of the entire Avesta should be nearly a life-time's work.

In view of what has been said above the reader will understand the extraordinary harassments which faced me in writing a translation of the Gāthas for non-experts in 1888-87. In

a new edition of SBE. XXXI, which I may be obliged to undertake, I would elaborately define each occurrence of *asha*, *vohumanah* and the rest thus: 'all deeds done through asha (thy holy law),' 'the understanding of vohumanah (as thy good-minded saint),' etc. This is what I have done in the English verbatims just published.¹ The effect is heavy indeed ; but more complete than the compromises to which I was obliged to resort in 1887, such as 'the Divine Righteousness' (for asha), which I then thought the best mode of comprehending the various concepts in a single phrase, though even then and there I added such phrases as 'in thy folk' for 'the community,' and the 'personified righteousness' for the Archangel.

OXFORD, Sept. 1900.

¹ See a new edition of the free metrical and verbatim translations. Brockhaus, 1900, also published by the Agency of the Clarendon Press for the United States in New York.

Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays. Second Series.—By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

II. THE DRAMAS OF HARSHA.

THE present article forms a sequel to one published a year ago in this Journal, vol. xx. pp. 341-359, in which the problems of the time analysis of the dramas of Kālidāsa were examined. It belongs also to a series of studies which the present writer has been making in the field of the Sanskrit drama, a list of which is given below for convenience.¹ With regard to the special interest and scope of researches into the use of the element of time, its observance or non-observance in Hindu plays, reference may be made to the introduction to the companion article just mentioned. The principal bibliographical references to works for consultation are there given and they need not be repeated here. Mention, however, may be made of the special books connected with Harsha, or Āṛī-Harshadeva as he is often called, so far as they have been used in the present monograph; a convenient bibliography of the entire drama of India will be published before long by my pupil, Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr.

The question of a dramatist's sources is of interest when one is studying the author's use of the element of time in his plays. The source of the three dramas ascribed to Harsha's name was the Brhatkathā, which has been lost. Nevertheless we can understand in a general way his use of that source, as well as his own lack of invention, if that may be said, by turning to the Kathāsaritsāgara, which is later than Harsha's time but is based upon the Brhatkathā, as is also the Brhatkathāmañjarī. The

¹ Those which have thus far appeared are: (1) Children on the stage in the Ancient Hindu Drama. *The Looker-On*, iv. 509-516, New York, June 1897; (2) Certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit plays with parallels in the English drama. First Series. *American Journal of Philology*, xix. 241-254, October 1898; (3) Disguising on the stage as a dramatic device in Sanskrit plays. *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, xxix. pp. xviii-xix, 1898; (4) Time analysis of Sanskrit Plays. First Series. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xx. 341-359, April 1899.

whole story of Vatsarāja, which is the subject of two of the plays, namely, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarṣikā*, is given in detail or in substance in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; and in like manner the episode of *Jīmūtavāhana*, which forms the theme of the *Nāgānanda*, is taken from a tale told in the same work, which recounts the history of King Vatsa (ch. 22) as well as in the *Vetāla* portion of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ch. 90). We thus have most of the material which must have been used by Harsha in its earlier shape, and we can observe how our author has handled the events—changing, transposing, or keeping their sequence, as the case may be—for dramatic purposes. Thus the *Priyadarṣikā* presents certain of the more important events of King Vatsa's life before and after his marriage with Queen Vāsavadattā. The time, however, was prior to his choice of Padmāvatī as a second queen, for the plot of this play is suggested by the king's liaison with Bandhumatī, as mentioned in a brief paragraph in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ch. 14=2. 6, cf. Tawney, transl. i. 97), prior to Padmāvatī's appearance on the scene. Yet in the play itself the author has chosen for dramatic purposes to mention Padmāvatī, as spoken of below (p. 95). Similarly, incidents connected with this second royal consort are woven into the plot of the *Ratnāvalī*, to whichever period in Vatsa's career this drama may be supposed exactly to refer. The *Nāgānanda*, moreover, elaborates a story which Vatsa's minister Yāughandarāyaṇa narrates long after the king's second marriage, and yet in the *Priyadarṣikā* this wise counsellor seems to be spoken of as if he were a previous and not an active minister as he is in the *Ratnāvalī*. Thus much for the treatment of the sequence of events, and so much also for the element of time, the lapse of which in the play we can help to check, as in the case of the story of *Jīmūtavāhana*, from what we know of Harsha's material as preserved in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. With regard to the text of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, reference may be made to the Bombay edition and to Brockhaus; for the translation, consult Tawney *The Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1880, 1884. Some hints may also be gotten from Lévi's summary of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1886.

As for the dramas themselves, I have made use of the text of the *Nirṇaya Sāgara* series in the case of the *Ratnāvalī* and of the *Priyadarṣikā*. The former play was edited by Godabole and Parab, Bombay 1890; the latter by Gadre, Bombay 1884, and

also in the Satya Press series by Jibananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta 1874. The references to the Nāgānanda are to the edition of Brahme and Paranjape (Arya Vijaya Press), Poona 1893, checked occasionally by the edition of Bhanap, Bombay 1892. With regard to translations, I had access to two in the case of the Ratnāvalī: one the familiar rendering by Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, ii. 255–319, the other by Fritze, Chemnitz 1878. For the Priyadargikā I consulted Strehly, Paris 1888, and an unpublished English version by Mr. G. K. S. Nariman, of Surat, which I hope later to edit and to publish conjointly with him, after adding an introduction. Two renderings of the Nāgānanda were also accessible: the one by Palmer Boyd, with Professor Cowell's introduction, London 1872, the other by Bergaigne, Paris 1879.

We are now prepared to turn to our detailed study of Harsha's employment of the element of time in his dramatic work.

1. Ratnāvalī.

Plot of the play in brief: Ratnāvalī, the daughter of the King of Ceylon, has been destined by a prophecy to become the second wife of King Vatsa, or Udayana. She is sent by sea to his capital but is shipwrecked on the way. Chance rescues her, however, and King Vatsa's chief minister places her in the queen's keeping without revealing her identity. The king sees the girl and falls in love with her, and when her high station as princess is disclosed in the fourth act she becomes his second bride and is favorably accepted by the queen, to whom she is related by blood. Number of acts, four.

Act. I.—In an introductory monologue King Vatsa's minister, Yāugandharāyaṇa, tells how the princess Ratnāvalī, or Sāgārikā as she is called in the play, has been rescued from shipwreck and that she is now in the keeping of the queen, Vāsavadattā. The minister himself alone knows her identity, which he has recognized by a necklace that she wears. Yāugandharāyaṇa adds that Bābhavya and Vasubhūti, the chamberlain and minister of the princess's father, were rescued at the same time as Ratnāvalī, but were separated from her, and that they are now on their way to King Vatsa's palace. He also says that Rumaṇvat, the commander-in-chief of Vatsa's army, has been despatched to overthrow the rebellious king of the Koṣalas. This prologue gives the information needed for understanding the action of the drama, and the play begins.

The opening scene is laid on one of the days of the great Kāma celebration, or vernal festival in honor of Cupid (cf. *madana-maha, vasanta*, and in the stage direction, *vasantotsava*, pp. 3-4). It is on this very day that the queen, Vāsavadattā, is to do special homage to the god of love (cf. *adya madanamahotsave* and *ajja mae . . . bhaavado kusumāhassa pñā nivvattaidavvā*, p. 8. 15-19), and the king is at once to join her (*ayam aham āgata eva*, p. 9. 8). This day is probably the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month Cāitra (consult Apte *Skt. Eng. Dict.* s. v. *madana-trayodaṣī*, and compare the admirable tables of the Hindu months and seasons which will be found in my friend Professor Lanman's translation of the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, shortly to appear). The time, then, would answer approximately to the first of April. There is a mention of the blossoming of the trees and flowers, especially of the budding of the queen's favorite *mādhavī*-creeper which bloomed earlier than the king's jasmine (cf. *māhavī ladā . . . romāliā ladā*, p. 11. 3), and allusion is made to the maina or talking bird, the starling which plays so important a part in the sequel (cf. *kisa tumam ajja . . . sārīam ujjhā iha āgadā*, p. 11. 16, *sārīā*, p. 12. 2). At the close of the act the sun is setting; twilight falls, and the moon rises as the scene ends (cf. pp. 14-15).

Time of the first act, part of the afternoon of one day until moonrise.

Act. II.—The second act opens apparently on the next day, for the festival of Cupid is still being celebrated (cf. *paṭṭamaana-mahūssave bhaavaṁ aṇaṅgo*, p. 19. 1). It is now probably the fourteenth day of the month Cāitra (see remark under Act i., and consult Apte *Skt. Eng. Dict.* s. v. *madana-caturdaṣī*). There seems to be good reason for not assuming any longer interval; for the 'starling' (*sārikā*) which had been placed by the disguised princess in the keeping of her friend Susaṅgatā in Act i. (p. 12) is alluded to as if Sāgarikā had forgotten to come after it (p. 16), and in the dénouement of this act the bird plays the chief rôle (cf. p. 16 seq.). Moreover, the preceding day seems to be implied when the love-lorn Sāgarikā sketches the king's picture (pp. 17, 18), reproducing the scene connected with the Kāma festival. In addition to this, the magician who has taught the king how to make his jasmine flower blossom like the queen's *mādhavī*-creeper has come to court 'to-day' (*ajja*, p. 16. 13) which may reasonably be regarded as the day after Act. i.

It is also 'to-day' (*adya*, bis, p. 23. 10, 20) that his wonderful legerdemain will be put to the test, so that the queen shall be outdone (cf. *adyo 'dyānalatām*, p. 23. 10 and *vayam adya*, p. 23. 20); and this actually comes to pass at the end of the act (cf. *kusumidā nomāliā-tti*, p. 37. 16). The movement of the scene itself is uninterrupted, and the queen is filled with jealousy on discovering the picture of the king and Sāgarikā, and she leaves the stage (p. 39). The act closes with the resolve of the king to follow his royal consort and to pacify her (cf. *devīm prasādayitum adhyantaram eva praviṣāvaḥ*, p. 40. 7).

Time of the second act, apparently part of the next day after the first act, although the time is not conclusively defined.

Act III.—It is somewhat doubtful whether the third act is to be placed on the afternoon of the same day, as the closing scene of the preceding act, with its episode of jealous anger over the picture; or on the day following. In either case there is no long interval between the two. Much depends upon the interpretation to be given to the twice-repeated *ajja* 'to-day' (pp. 41. 17, 42. 7). The maiden Kāñcanamālā in the induction scene (*praveśaka*) explains that she has overheard an important conversation as she was passing the picture gallery 'to-day' (*ajja kkhū*, p. 41. 17), to the effect that the king's indisposed health was due only to love-sickness for Sāgarikā. She also tells us that Sāgarikā had been placed by the jealous queen 'to-day' under her charge (*ajja kkhū devī cittaṭṭhalaavuttantasaññikā sārāmaṃ mama hatthe samappaantī*, p. 42. 7-8). Is it the same day as that in Act ii., or is it the day following? On the whole it seems best to understand the reference to be to the day following. It seems as if a day should be allowed to elapse, to give time for the king to assume the guise of indisposed health in order to conceal his lovesick devotion to Sāgarikā (*assatthadāmisēṇa maanāvattam pacchādaanto*, p. 43. 5) and to allow time for the change in the deportment of Sāgarikā herself under the watch that has been set over her by the queen (cf. *sārāmaṃ mama hatthe samappaantī*, p. 42. 8), for she shrinks from every gaze and pines away. The king, moreover, has sent the Vidūshaka for news about Sāgarikā; his inquiry and his anxiety would seem to imply more than a lapse of a couple of hours which would have to be the case if the scene were on the same day as Act ii.; and he wonders why the Vidūshaka delays so long (cf. *preṣitaḥ ca mayā tadvārtānveśanāya vasantakaḥ tat katham cirayati*, p. 44. 7, and again *api kuṣalam*

priyāyāh sāgarikāyāh, p. 44. 17). The impression given by the opening lines of the Induction (cf. *kobi kālo tū*, [sc. *kāñcanamālāe*] *āgachhā gadūēti*, p. 41, 3) and by the act itself as a whole seems to require more hours to have elapsed than would be possible if both acts were to be placed on the same day. Still, Windisch, *Der griechische Einfluss*, p. 48, n. 2, prefers to crowd the events of Act iii into the afternoon and evening of the same day as Act ii. Whichever way this question be decided, there is no doubt as to the hour of the day which is to be represented in the present act; it is late in the afternoon when the king inquires 'how much of the day remains' (*kim avagīṣṭam ahnaḥ*, p. 45. 12). Sunset is at hand and the glories of the scene, together with the coming of darkness and the rising of the moon, are described (compare the allusions from *atthagirisīharakāṇaṇam anuśaradi bhāvaṁ sahasrasarmā*, p. 45. 15, as far as *udido bhāvaṁ mialaṇchano*, p. 51. 5). It is then that Sāgarikā disguised in one of the queen's dresses which Kāñcanamālā had given her, joins the king as arranged for 'this evening' by that attendant and the Vidūshaka (cf. *padose* etc. in Kāñcanamālā's speech, p. 42. 11, and *ajja* in the Vidūshaka's encouraging words, p. 44. 10). The queen interrupts the moonlight rendezvous. Finding the king making love to Sāgarikā she takes the girl prisoner, captures the go-between Vidūshaka, and leaves the stage in high dudgeon. The king follows to pacify her (cf. *devīm eva prasādayitum*, p. 58. 18). The scene closes late in the night.

Time of the third act, late afternoon and evening of the day following Act ii., or the same day—see discussion above.

Act IV.—The events of the fourth act follow directly after the preceding day. Owing to the king's intercession the queen releases the Vidūshaka, as we learn from the Prologue. The attendant maid Susāṅgatā has no news to add to his own information except that 'it is not known where the unhappy Sāgarikā was conveyed by the queen at midnight after giving out the report that she had been despatched to Ujjain' (*sā kkhū tabassīṇi devīe ujjainīm peside-tti jaṇappavādum kadua ubatthide addharatte na jāṇūdi kham nide-tti*, p. 60. 4-5). Events prove, however, that Sāgarikā was not taken away. Through an extraordinary combination of circumstances she is rescued by the king, and at the same moment the shipwrecked chamberlain and minister of Sāgarikā's royal father arrive upon the scene and recognize in her the lost princess Ratnāvalī. Her identity is proved by the neck-

lace, and she is found to be the destined bride of King Vatsa as well as own cousin to Queen Vāsavadattā, who rejoices over the discovery of her kinswoman and accepts her as a co-wife. The happy moment is made more complete by the news that King Vatsa's general Rumaṇvat has triumphed over Koçala (cf. Act i.) and the events of the three or four days covered by the action of the drama are brought to a close.

Time of the fourth act, part of the day following the preceding act.

Summary of the duration of the action of the Ratnāvalī.

Act i., part of one day, from afternoon until moonrise.	1
Act ii., apparently part of the next day.	1
Act iii., late afternoon and evening of the following day, or of the same day—see discussion above.	[1]
Act iv., part of the next day.	1

Thus the action of the play is practically continuous and its four acts are comprised within four days, or possibly in three.

2. Priyadarçikā.

Plot of the play in brief: Priyadarçikā, or Āraṇyakā as she is called in the play, is brought in early girlhood as a captive to the court of King Vatsa Udayana, and is placed under the care of queen Vāsavadattā, until she shall be of marriageable age. The king later falls in love with her and she is discovered to be the daughter of a friendly monarch, Dṛḍhavarman, who had been taken prisoner by an enemy 'over a year' before (*samāhāṃ savmāccharaṃ*, p. 42. 10), or at the very moment when Priyadarçikā was accidentally captured and brought to Vatsa's court. King Vatsa restores Dṛḍhavarman to his throne by overcoming his captor, the king of Kaliṅga. The princess Priyadarçikā, as she now turns out to be, is united to Vatsa at this happy moment as the play closes. Number of acts, four.

An analysis of the time covered by the action of this play is more difficult than in the case of the preceding drama. The chief personages, King Vatsa and his companion, the Vidūshaka Vasantaka, Queen Vāsavadattā and her attendant Kāñcana-mālā, are the same as before. Rumaṇvat, however, who was the leading general in the Ratnāvalī, is now prime minister; and

Yāugandharāyaṇa, who figured as minister in the Ratnāvalī, is now mentioned only in the interlude play (*garbhānātaka*), which is introduced in the third act of the present drama to recount certain incidents in King Vatsa's earlier career (cf. *susaṁnīhitam sarvaṁ yāugandharāyaṇena*, p. 32. 8). Once in this drama, moreover, allusion is made to Vatsa's second wife, Padmāvatī, and to other wives (cf. *devīnaṁ vāsavadattā-padumāvadīnaṁ anūjānaṁ a devīnaṁ*, p. 24. 7-9), of whom no mention is made in the Ratnāvalī. But too much stress must not be laid on this point, nor on the change of ministers, to show that the Priyadarṣikā refers to a somewhat later period in Vatsa's married life. Such a view, however, would in a measure be borne out by the sequence of events which must have been found in Harsha's source, the Brhatkathā, if we may judge by the order in which they are narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara, ch. 14 = 2. 6 (cf. Tawney's translation, i. 97 seq.). Yet both Rumaṇvat and Yāugandharāyaṇa occupy the position of ministers in the Kathāsaritsāgara without special difference between them as to generalship or counsel.

One point comes out clearly when the time element in this play is studied; it is that Harsha in this play has followed the convention of compressing events that occupy more than a year into a period that seems to be a year, as laid down by the laws of Hindu dramaturgy. For quotations from the canon on this point, see my preceding paper in JAOS. xx. 343. Thus the events which play a part at the opening of this drama, the escape of King Vatsa with his bride Vāsavadattā, the misfortunes of King Dr̥dhavarman, and the overthrow of King Vindhya-ketu which brings Priyadarṣikā to Vatsa's court, can hardly have been almost simultaneous, as the play for dramatic purposes treats them to be. It is for harmonizing such matters that the conventional Induction (*viṣkambhaka*) is made use of by the author (consult on this subject SD. 308, 314 and Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, p. 59). The growth of Priyadarṣikā to marriageable age and the release of her kingly father, Dr̥dhavarman, who has been in captivity 'over a year' (*samāhīnaṁ saṁvaccharam*, p. 42. 10) by the time that the play closes, are compressed into a single year so as to follow the dramatic dictum, that 'business extending beyond a year should be comprised within a year' (*varsād ūrdhvaṁ tu yad vastu tat syād varsād adbhavam*, SD. 306). So much for the first general results of an examination into the time system of this play. Let us now turn to the details.

Induction.—King Vatsa has been promised the hand of Priyadargikā, daughter of King Dr̥ḍhavarman. The chamberlain of the latter, named Vinayavasū, comes forward in the Induction (*viṣkambhaka*) and informs us that a rival king, Kaliṅga, has taken Dr̥ḍhavarman prisoner because the latter had promised his daughter's hand to King Vatsa instead of to him. Dr̥ḍhavarman's captivity has therefore begun.

At the very time when Dr̥ḍhavarman's realm was being invaded by Kaliṅga, King Vatsa himself was in captivity to another monarch, Pradyota, but he had escaped and had carried off the latter's daughter, Vāsavadattā, as his bride. She is the jealous queen in this play as in the *Ratnāvalī*. We are furthermore told that King Vatsa is waging war against the king of the forests of Vindhya. From the chamberlain's speech we learn that a battle had taken place on the very day on which he is speaking (cf. *kathitani cā'dya mama vindhyaketunā*, etc., p. 3. 11). Vindhya ketu is slain, and the young girl Priyadargikā, who had been temporarily left for safety in Vindhya ketu's forest abode, is captured by King Vatsa's victorious forces. This brings the daughter of Dr̥ḍhavarman to Vatsa's court. Further news than this the chamberlain who had lost her can not tell. He only knows that his own lord, Dr̥ḍhavarman, is a prisoner to Kaliṅga (*baddhas tiṣṭhati*, p. 3. 13).

From the chamberlain's closing words we learn also that the season of the year is autumn (*aho! atidūṛṇatā śaradūtapasya*, p. 3. 15); the sun is passing from the zodiacal sign Virgo to Libra (*kanyāgrahanāt parūṇi tulāni prāpya*, p. 3. 18), which likewise implies a covert allusion to the king's change of affection from Vāsavadattā to Priyadargikā.

Time of the induction, duration of the action itself, i. e. some part of a day.

Interval of several days.—A slight interval separates the Induction (*viṣkambhaka*) from Act i. There are several things which show this. In the first place the Vidūshaka speaks of Dr̥ḍhavarman's having been imprisoned by Kaliṅga (*dr̥ḍhavamā baddho-ti*, p. 4. 15). Furthermore, King Vatsa says it is 'many days' (*bahūny ahāni*, p. 4. 19) since he has sent his own chief general, Vijayasena, against Vindhya ketu. These days must be accounted for, since they fall in part within the present action. In some degree it is possible to do this. The victorious general returns in the first part of Act i; from his

own words we know that it required a forced march of 'three days' (*divasatrayeṇa*, p. 6. 3) to reach Vindhyaketu and that the battle began immediately after his arrival. The day of the conflict was the very one in which the scene of the Induction (*viṣkambhaka*) is laid as we have already found (cf. *adya*, p. 3. 11). It must have taken almost as much time again for the general with his army to return. This period of at least six days may well form a good part of the 'many days' (*bahūny ahāni*) which King Vatsa impatiently feels have elapsed since the general was first despatched—unless we are to regard *bahūny ahāni* as a mere dramatic exaggeration. In any case it seems fair to allow no less than three days for the interval between the *viṣkambhaka* and Act i. We may now turn to the act itself.

Act I.—King Vatsa comes upon the stage and his general returns victorious. He brings in his triumphant train a young girl who is supposed to be the daughter of the dead Vindhyaketu (cf. *vindhyaketor . . . tadāhite 'ti*, p. 7. 10–11). She is really, however, Priyadarṣikā the child of the imprisoned Dr̥ḍhavarman. Vatsa appoints the girl to be a maid in waiting upon Vāsava-dattā, and he directs the queen to remind him when Āraṇyakā (i. e. Sylvia), as she is henceforth called, is old enough to be married (*yadū varayogyā bhaviṣyati tadā mām smāraya*, p. 7. 16). At the close of the act, when all are leaving the stage, the hour is midday (cf. *nabhomadhyam adhyāste bhagavān sahasra-dīdhitīḥ*, p. 7. 23, and other similar allusions). Plans are to be made for celebrating a fête in honor of the victorious Vijayasena who is next to be sent against Kaliṅga (p. 8. 6), a campaign which plays a part in the sequel (Act iv.).

Time of the first act, the forenoon of one day.

Interval of fully a year.

An interval of at least a year is to be assumed between Act. i. and Act. ii. This is shown in several ways. First and foremost we must account for the expression 'over a year' used in the closing act regarding the length of Dr̥ḍhavarman's imprisonment (cf. *samahīam samvacharam*, p. 42. 10). The present place between Act i. and Act ii. is the only one in the drama where we can allow for this longer lapse of time, since there is not any break of importance either before Act iii or before Act iv. Again, as already stated, the king had bidden that Priyadarṣikā, or Āraṇyakā as she is called in the play, should be the queen's maid

of honor until she should reach a marriageable age (cf. p. 7. 16). In the second act one of the attendants says she must tell the queen 'to-day' (*ajja* p. 14. 2) that Āraṇyakā is now marriageable, as the king had commanded to be reminded when she attained that age. When the king now sees her he speaks of 'having long been robbed' (*cīram musitūh smo vāyam*, p. 14. 10) of a pleasure he would like to have enjoyed. Moreover, Āraṇyakā and her associate, Indīvarikā, seem to have become such devoted friends in the interval that has elapsed that they can hardly be separated (cf. *na sakkunomi tue vinā ettha āsīdum*, p. 13. 21), although Āraṇyakā has well kept the secret of her exalted birth all the time (cf. p. 11. 8). The time is now the rainy season of autumn once again, as is shown by the allusions to the luxuriance of the flowers and to the autumnal rains (p. 10. 6, 15; 12. 5, etc.). But more especially is it shown by the reference to the grand autumnal celebration of the full moon, or the Kāumudī festival, in Āgvinā-Kārttika (September-November). This is mentioned at the beginning of Act iii. and again in Act iv., and both of these acts follow in sequence after Act ii. without any important break. It is to be supposed, therefore, that an interval of fully a year has elapsed between Act i. and Act ii. The interval may possibly have been even longer owing to the tendency, for dramatic purposes, to comprise events within a year as explained above. In that event the expression 'over a year,' as found in the fourth or last act, would be a milder expression for a somewhat longer period. See above.

Act II.—At the opening of the second act the queen is temporarily absent as she has undertaken a vow and a fast (cf. *sotthi-vāṇa*, p. 8. 12) and the lonely king is in need of diversion (cf. *kahaṃ eso piavaasso ajja devī virahukkaṇṭhāvinodanana-mittam dhārāgharujjānam evva patthido*, p. 8. 16-17, and also *kṣāmām adya priyām*, p. 9. 3-6). It is late afternoon (cf. *atthāhilāsīnā sujjena maulāvijjanti*, p. 11. 3) when the meeting of the king and Āraṇyakā unexpectedly takes place, and the sun is setting when their interview closes (cf. *atthamaāhilāsī bhāvaṃ sahasarassī*, p. 18. 15, and *parinātaprāyo divasaḥ*, p. 18. 17). The whole action is swift and unbroken.

Time of the second act, the latter part of an afternoon.

Possibly a very slight interval? Only a very slight interval, if any, separates Act iii. from Act ii., for the queen is again present after her fast; and the allusion made by one of the girls

to Āraṇyakā's distracted air 'yesterday' (*hio*, p. 19. 12) and to the absent-minded acting of her part in the rehearsal of the mimic play which is about to be given, seem to imply that the meeting with the king had taken place recently. The miniature play itself is to be performed 'to-day on the grand Kāumudī festival' (*ajja . . . komadīmahūsavē*, p. 19. 11); and if Āraṇyakā does not play her part better 'to-day' (*ajja*, p. 19. 13) there is danger of the queen's displeasure. Āraṇyakā's conversation with her confidante Manoramā, moreover, seems to imply that little time could have elapsed since the preceding act. The disguised princess points out the very spot where she had been embraced by the king, as if but shortly before (cf. *aam so uddeso jassiṃ* etc., p. 21. 3), and Manoramā asks her if she really had been seen by the king, implying that the incident, or at least the gossip about it, was fresh (cf. *tumam mahārūṇa dīṭṭhā na ve-tti*, p. 21. 15). The interval must have been long enough, however, to give a show of credibility to the exaggerated statements about Āraṇyakā's sighing 'day and night' (*diaharattim*, p. 23. 1) and also to the Vidūshaka's jesting complaint that Vatsa had not slept 'day or night,' nor allowed him to do so (cf. *teṇa saha mae divārattam niddū na dīṭṭhā*, p. 34. 2), while the affairs of state are simply neglected by the king (cf. *pariccattarākajjo*, p. 23. 9). The queen also has had time to take the alarm and to keep Āraṇyakā out of the king's sight (cf. *eṣā mama priyasakhā mahārājasya devyā darṣanapathād api rakṣyate*, p. 30. 22). In this interval, furthermore, the Vidūshaka has made an unsuccessful search for Āraṇyakā in the women's apartment (p. 24. 9).

Act. III.—The third act itself opens on the evening of the Kāumudī festival, the occasion when the mimic play is to be presented (cf. *adya ratrāu*, p. 30. 23, *ajja . . . komadīmahūsavē*, p. 19. 11, and also *kāumudīmahotsavē*, p. 44. 2). The autumnal day has been a hot one (cf. *saradāveṇa samtappāṃ ajja* etc., p. 22. 11) and the twilight is already past by the time they are ready to begin the interlude-performance (cf. *adikkandā kkhū samijjhā*, p. 27. 17). By the close of the act it is bedtime (*idānim paṇāyāṃ gatvā*, p. 41. 2). The king retires for the night planning some means to propitiate his jealous queen, who has hurried Āraṇyakā and the Vidūshaka off to prison.

Time of the third act, part of an evening which is devoted to the incident of the mimic play.

Slight interval. Some interval, not long however, separates Act iii. from Act iv. This is shown especially by allusions in the

introductory Prologue or *praveśaka*. Āraṇyakā is now in prison by order of Vāsavadattā, so that her confidante Manoramā has not seen her for some time (*ettiam kālam*, p. 41. 10). Yet the interval can not have been a long extended one because the queen's allusion to the incident between Āraṇyakā and the king in the mimic play would seem to imply that that occasion was more or less recent (*tuha una edam āraṇṇīte uttantam paccak-kham*, p. 43. 18-19). A like inference may be drawn from Sāṅkṛtyāyanī's reference to the same episode during the full moon festival (cf. *kāumudīmahotsave*, p. 44. 2). The only other time allusion which needs mention in this connection is found in a speech of the king. As commented on below, he says that it is 'some days' (*katipayāny ahāni*, p. 47. 8) since he received the news of his general Vijayasena's expected victory over Kaliṅga and of the consequent rescue of the long-imprisoned Dr̥ḍhavarman. Allowing therefore for this slight interval we may take up the final act of the drama.

Act IV.—The importance of the fourth act with reference to the rest of the play is that we learn from its Prologue that 'over a year' (*samāhāni samvachcharam*, p. 42. 10) has elapsed since Dr̥ḍhavarman was taken prisoner by Kaliṅga, the hated foe against whom King Vatsa at the close of Act i. had determined to send his general Vijayasena after the victory over Vindhyaketu had been duly celebrated. In the midst of Act iv. the king reads a letter which he received from his general 'some days' before (*katipayāny ahāni*, p. 47. 8), announcing that the fall of Kaliṅga might be expected 'to-day or to-morrow' (*adya sva vā*, p. 47. 17). The siege has apparently been a long and exhausting one (cf. p. 47. 10-18). At this very moment the general himself enters to announce his triumphal success. He is accompanied by Vinayavasū, the old chamberlain of Dr̥ḍhavarman who appeared at the opening of the play. Through the victory of Vatsa's forces Dr̥ḍhavarman is reseatd on his throne (p. 49. 1). At this same instant of news-giving, the old chamberlain of the restored monarch recognizes Āraṇyakā as Priyadargikā, the lost daughter of Dr̥ḍhavarman, and he explains her relationship to the queen, who is her cousin. As the act closes, Priyadargikā is united to the king as another wife, and all ends happily after the various vicissitudes filling the space of a year or more which forms the time of the action of the play.

Time of the fourth act, part of a day.

Summary of the duration of the action of the Priyadarṣikā.

Induction (*viṣkambhaka*), part of one day in
the rainy season of autumn. 1

[Interval of several days.]

Act i., part of a day, forenoon until midday. 1

[Interval of at least a year—see discussion
above.]

Act ii., the latter part of an autumn afternoon. 1

[Interval?—possibly a very slight interval,
hardly more than a day or two at the
utmost.]

Act iii., part of an evening during the Kāumudī
festival. 1

[Only a slight interval.]

Act iv., part of one day. 1

Thus, the whole action of the play covers 'over a year,' from autumn until autumn. The long interval falls between Act i. and Act ii. The handling of events gives the impression of their having been compressed into the space of not much over a year, so as to comply with certain rules of the dramatic canon.

3. Nāgānanda.

Plot of the play in brief: The hero, Prince Jīmūtavāhana, falls in love with Malayavatī, daughter of the king of the Siddhas, who is living in the forest. Their wedding feast is celebrated in the third act. In the next act, to save the life of another, the young prince offers his own life to the monstrous bird Garuḍa, who daily devours one member of the serpent race. Jīmūtavāhana is terribly torn by the monster, but he is restored to life before the fifth act closes, and as a reward for his vicarious suffering the whole serpent race is henceforth freed from destruction by Garuḍa. The season represented in the play is autumn. Number of acts, five.

Act I.—Prince Jīmūtavāhana, the hero of the play, has received the kingdom from his father, the king of the Vidyādhara, but Buddha-like he has no real love for the throne. He has made his subjects happy by his justice and his generosity, but now, abandoning the reins of government to his ministers, the young prince prefers, in loving devotion, to wait upon his father and mother in their recluse life in the forest.

The real action of the drama begins about the middle of the first act itself, when the youthful hero, wandering in the forest with his friend, the Vidūshaka, catches sight of the princess Malayavatī, daughter of the king of the Siddhas, and falls in love with her. He first sees her as she is playing on her lute near the temple of the goddess Gāūrī in the forest hermitage. From the conversation of the princess with her maid we learn that, as a reward for her pious devotion to the divinity, the goddess herself has appeared before her 'to-day in a dream' (*ajja siviṇae*, p. 12. 11, cf. also *ṇam ajja kido*, etc., p. 12. 8-9) and has promised that 'Prince Jīmūtavāhana, the ruler of the Vidyādhara, shall wed her shortly' (*vijjāharacakkavattī de aireṇa evva pāṇiggahaṇam nivvattaissaḍi*, p. 13. 2-3). This is the cue for the prince to reveal himself. But before he and Malayavatī have time to exchange confidences, an ascetic enters. The words of this priestly hermit let us know that Mitrāvasu, the brother of the princess, has 'gone to day' (*adya gataḥ*, p. 16. 7) to propose a marriage between his sister and this very prince Jīmūtavāhana. The ascetic has been bidden to make haste, for 'the hour of the midday oblation might slip away while Malayavatī is waiting' (*taṇca, pratikṣamāṇayā malayavatyaḥ kadācin madhyandinasavanavelā 'tikrāmet*, p. 16. 8-9). The hour in fact is already midday; the sun is in the zenith as the act closes with its interchange of loving glances between Jīmūtavāhana and Malayavatī (cf. *majjhāṇasūtra*, p. 18. 2, *ayanī madhyam adhyāste nabhastatasya bhagavān sahasradīhitīḥ*, p. 18. 6).

Time of the first act, part of a forenoon until midday.

Act II.—The question whether the second act is to be regarded as falling on the same day as the first act or on the following day is not easy to decide. In the former case the time of Act ii. would have to be afternoon, in the latter case it would apparently be the forenoon. Much depends upon how much time we are to assume for Mitrāvasu's search for the hero, as noted below, and upon the hour to be assigned for the 'nuptial bath' which gives the time of the closing of the act. The whole question, however, involves at most only a difference of a few hours, but as a matter of interpretation it is worth discussing and both sides of the question will be presented.

In the first place Malayavatī's brother Mitrāvasu is said in Act i. to have 'gone to-day' (*adya gataḥ*, p. 16. 7) in quest of Prince

Jīmūtavāhana in order to offer to him the hand of his sister Malayavatī (cf. *kumāra-jīmūtavāhanam ihāi 'va malayaparvate kvāpi vartamānaṁ bhaginyā malayavatyā varahetor draṣṭum, adya gataḥ* p. 16. 6-7). Jīmūtavāhana is said to be somewhere on the mountain (cf. *malayaparvate*), and several allusions in the play show that his abode in the forest was quite nearby (e. g. *kumārajīmūtavāhano 'smābhīr ihā 'sannutarah,* p. 31. 12, and other incidental allusions which allow drawing an inference, such as the prompt return of the messenger, p. 34. 2-11, p. 39. 5-6, as mentioned below). Now although Mitrāvasu did not return by midday in Act i., he was evidently expected about that time, as is shown by the allusion to Malayavatī's waiting, as already quoted (*pratīkṣanānāyā malayavatyā kudācin madhyamālinasavanavelā 'tikrāmet,* p. 16. 8). A direct continuation of this thought is found at the very opening of Act ii. Malayavatī has there sent an attendant to inquire if her brother be returned or no, for she wonders why 'he tarries so long to-day' (*ajja ciraadī,* p. 19. 2,—or 'still delays,' if the variant reading *ajja-vi* be adopted). A few minutes later, in the middle of this second act, Mitrāvasu does appear (*tataḥ pravṛṇati mītrāvasuḥ,* p. 31. 10) and meets his sister who is in the sandalwood bower. To this same spot Jīmūtavāhana himself has repaired even though he has been obliged to shorten the time due to his Gurus, in order to arrive there (cf. *kṛṣa uṇa ajja tumaṁ lahu evva gurujaṇaṁ sussaṁsā iha āgaddo,* p. 26. 14-15). To his friend, the Vidūshaka, who had accompanied him, he has to acknowledge frankly that his weakness 'this day' is owing to lovesickness (cf. *yeṇā 'dyāi 'va* etc. p. 26. 11). He gives the reason for seeking the sandalwood bower. It is that 'in sleep to-day' (*adya khulu svapne jānāmi,* p. 26. 17) he saw a vision of his beloved in that place, which has become dear to him in consequence, and where he wishes to 'spend the rest of the day' (cf. *tad icchāmi svapnānubhūṭadayitūsamāgamaramye 'sminn eva pradeḥ diva-śeṣam ativāhayitum,* p. 26. 20-21). We may presume that this vision in sleep was a day dream of Malayavatī, whom he had seen that very forenoon and wished again to see. Such an interpretation at least will allow for Mitrāvasu's love mission of Act i. to have been completed on the same day in Act ii., which it may strongly be urged the context seems to demand. The details of the marriage would be arranged directly afterwards on the same afternoon, the hour of the 'nuptial bath' would be quite

late, and the marriage ceremony would be that same evening 'in the first watch,' as mentioned again below. This would crowd the meeting of the lovers, the negotiation for their marriage, and the solemnization of the nuptials into a single day, which I find is done by Windisch in his brief mention of the time scheme of the play, *Der griechische Einfluss*, p. 48. Much may be said in favor of such an interpretation judging from the context.

On the other hand, if it were not for the context in regard to Mitrāvasu's mission, it would be simpler, and in many respects more natural, to place the incidents of Act ii. on the day following Act i. This is actually done in the Kathāsaritsāgara, which contains the story identical with our plot. The account found in that narrative allows a night to elapse, as is shown by its allusions to sleeping and to resorting to the temple of Gāurī early on the morning of the next day (cf. *ṣayanastho 'pi . . . prātāḥ cā 'tyutsuko bhūyas tad gāuryāyatanaṁ yayāu*, KSS. ch. 90=12. 23. 66-68; cf. also Tawney's translation ii. 311). In this case the vision seen 'in sleep to-day,' in the drama (*adya khalu svapne jānāmi*, p. 26. 17), would have been a dream of the night just past after the hero had caught sight of Malayavatī; the time of the act would be forenoon rather than afternoon, as with the other interpretation; and the allusion at the close of the act itself to the fact that the time of the nuptial bath had arrived (cf. *udvāhasnānavelīṁ*, p. 40. 5, *phavaṇakam*, p. 40. 6, *snāna-bhūmim eva gaacchāvāḥ*, p. 40. 8) would be identical with the ordinary bathing time in the Vikramorvaṣī, Act ii. end, instead of towards evening as must otherwise be the case. In this way, moreover, the marriage would not be crowded into the same day as the lovers' first glimpse of each other, but would allow one day's preparation (cf. p. 40. 2); and new color or a different shade of meaning might be given to certain thoughts in Jīmūtavāhana's speech beginning *nūtāḥ kiṁ na niṣāḥ*, etc. (p. 26. 5-8), as that of the pining lover. If such be the case we must adopt a slightly different interpretation of the length of time required for Mitrāvasu's love mission. We might, for example, assume that his meeting with Jīmūtavāhana was delayed a day by his failure to find the prince the first day, and that Malayavatī's impatience at his delay 'to-day,' in the opening of Act ii., was due to its being the second day of her brother's quest. Still, as stated above, the difference in either case is but a difference of less than twenty-four hours in our interpretation of the action.

The one other important time allusion in this second act is that relating to the time for celebrating the marriage of the lovers. From the scene in the sandalwood bower Mitrāvasu himself is unquestionably convinced of the mutual love between his sister and Jīmūtavāhana. Accordingly he goes to obtain from the young prince's Gurus their final sanction of the marriage (p. 34. 2-11). They evidently dwell quite near, and a few minutes later a maid returns with the news from Mitrāvasu that 'the happy event of Malayavati's wedding will be brought to pass this very day' (*ajja evva malaavudīe vivāhūssavassa maṅgalaṁ saṁvuttāṁ bhaviṣṣadi*, p. 39. 5-6). The hour of the nuptial bath has arrived, as quoted above.

Time of the second act, part either of the same afternoon as the preceding act, or of the morning following—see discussion above.

Act III.—The third act is unbroken in its movement and it is supposed to last from dawn till sunset on the day after the marriage. The wedding itself had been solemnized 'at the first watch' of the night (*padhamapahare*, p. 42. 1; consult the note on this in Brahme and Paranjape's edition, p. 41). As Act iii. opens, it is daybreak (*pahāde-vi*, p. 42. 2). The marriage festivities are still being carried on, as is shown by the scene of the intoxicated parasite, Œkharaka, in the first half of the act. He had been carousing during the night's celebration, but his sweetheart had not joined him though she had seen him (cf. *raaṇivirahajāṇidukkaṇṭhaṁ*, p. 45. 1, and *ajja tumāṁ mae vivāhajāgarāṇe viditūmāṇo* etc. p. 56. 1). People are stirring about as the act progresses, because the maid has received orders from the bride's mother to direct the royal gardener specially to prepare the flower pavilion, as the bride and bridegroom will go there 'to-day' (*ajja savisesaṁ tamālavāhiṁ sajjikarehi*, p. 44. 13). The loving pair appear on the scene about the middle of the act, and Jīmūtavāhana, in rapture at his marriage, feels that this blessed day is the reward of all the austerities in his past life (cf. p. 52. 1-10). His comrade, the Vidūshaka, soon joins the couple, and Jīmūtavāhana pleasantly twits his friend on having been so long in coming (*vayasya cirāḍ āyāto 'sī*, p. 53. 17). There are one or two allusions to the sun and to incidents connected with the festivities (p. 53. 17, p. 56. 1, p. 57. 13), but there is nothing to show that the time is rapidly advancing. Suddenly toward the close of the act we find that the hour of

sunset has arrived (*samprati hi pariṇatam ahaḥ*, p. 60. 6, *astam . . . yāsyān* etc. p. 60. 9). This swiftness of movement from dawn to sunset during the development of a single act is also remarked upon by Brahme and Paranjape, p. 49-50.

Time of the third act, from dawn until sunset on the day after the wedding, which took place just after the close of the second act.

Interval? It is difficult to prove with absolute certainty that any interval elapses between the third act and the fourth, but good reasons may be given for assuming at least a few days' break. In the first place, Jīmūtavāhana and Malayavatī are no longer at the abode of the bride's parents, as they were in Act iii., on the day after the wedding. There is authority for believing that it was customary for newly married couples to remain for ten days at the bride's home before the young husband took his wife to his own abode. The *gloka* cited by Brahme and Paranjape, p. 51, is worth quoting in this connection; it runs, *kanyāvegmanī nirvartiya rājavad daṣarātrikam | sabhāryaḥ svagrhaṁ yāyāt sthūter vā kuladeṣayoh*. The play seems indirectly to contain a reference to this idea, if we may read at least an implication of it in the order given by the bride's mother that 'red garments are to be carried to Malayavatī and her husband for ten days' (*daṣarātraṁ yāvan malayavatya jāmatuḥ ca rakta-vāsānsi neta-vyāni*, p. 61. 10).

In the second place, the fête *Dīpaprati-padutsava* (p. 61. 19), or festival held on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika (Oct.-Nov.), upon which occasion it was appropriate to give some suitable memento to the bride and bridegroom (cf. *yat kiṁ cit pradīyate*, p. 62. 1) is spoken of in such a manner as to imply that this fête was not immediately after the wedding. Then, Jīmūtavāhana's attitude, if one may say so, seems to imply a slight waning of the honeymoon. As he wanders with his brother-in-law down to the seashore to watch the rising of the tide, he complains that the forest life offers little opportunity to do good by self-sacrifice in behalf of others (cf. *doṣo 'yam eko vane*, etc. p. 62. 10); and a little farther on in the act when the occasion accidentally comes, he then feels that in this way his 'marriage with Malayavatī has been fruitful' (cf. *saphatibhūto me malayavatyaḥ pāṇigrahaḥ*, p. 75. 15). His words of reminiscence of Malayavatī's kisses (p. 76. 18-19) do not necessarily imply that the marriage had been but a day before. On the

whole, therefore, considering that the bride has left her own home and is now with her husband at the house of his parents, which we may believe customarily happened after ten days according to the authority above cited; and considering the *daṣarātra*-allusion in the play, which seems indirectly at least to refer to this; and again taking into account the other points above noticed, it seems reasonable at least to assume that ten days or more perhaps had elapsed between the wedding and the great life-sacrifice which the hero now makes. Yet it must be noticed that Windisch, in his brief memorandum, *op. cit.*, p. 48, allows only three days for the action of the play and does not mention any interval.

Act IV.—The movement of Act iv. itself is swift and unbroken. It occupies the short time that the hero is walking upon the slopes of Mount Malaya, where the occasion arises for him to sacrifice himself to the bird Garuḍa in order to save the life of one of the serpent race, and it includes the sacrifice itself at the close of the act when the great bird carries him off in its talons to the top of the mountain in order to kill and eat him.

Time of the fourth act, brief part of a day.

Act V.—The fifth act follows immediately upon the fourth, as Garuḍa is now seen to be devouring his victim on the mountain peak to which he had just carried him. The bird, however, relents and proceeds to restore Jīmūtavāhana to life. The hero is immediately reunited with his wife and parents; and the goddess Gāurī, who is the *dea ex machina* of the piece, proclaims him a universal sovereign to whom the nations bow, including his chief enemy Mataṅga (*mataṅgahatakādayo*, p. 105. 5). Thus all ends well and happily.

Time of the fifth act, continuation of the same day as the preceding act.

Summary of the duration of the action of the Nāgānanda.

Act i., part of one day, forenoon until midday. 1

Act ii., part either of the same day or of the next day—see discussion above. [1]

Act iii., the whole of the next day from dawn until sunset. 1

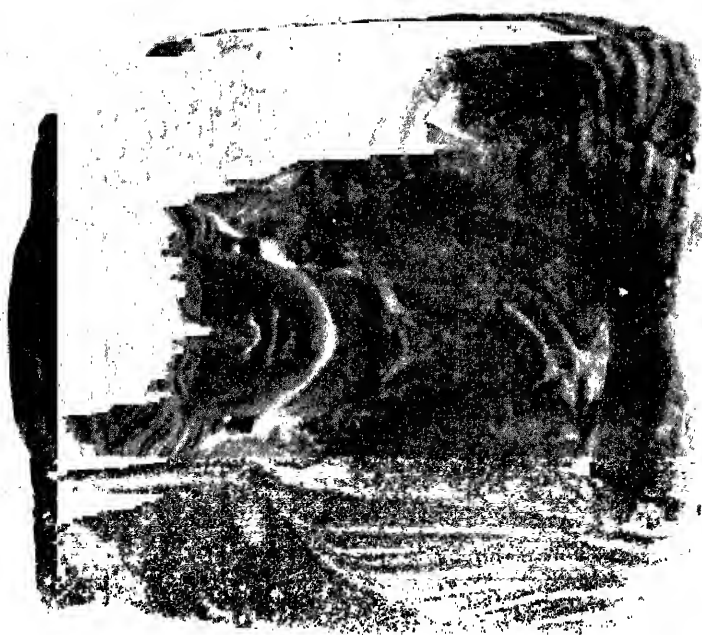
[Interval? — perhaps some days—see discussion above.]

Act iv., part of one day. }

Act v., continuation of the same day. } 1

Thus, the action of the Nāgānanda as presented covers three days, or possibly four—see discussion above. There is probably also an interval of some days after Act iii., as explained. Acts iv.–v. together occupy part of a day.

Conclusion. An examination of the kind made in this paper contributes something to the interpretation of the plays from the standpoint of action and to the interpretation of character development during that action. As for its general results in supplementing the previous study of Kālidāsa's use of the element of time in his plays, the present investigation would tend perhaps to show more conservatism on the part of Harsha with regard to allowing very long lapses of time to be assumed in the action of his plays, than was the case with his greater predecessor.



Seven unpublished Palmyrene Inscriptions.—By RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y.¹

1. Male figure ; three lines of inscription. Property of Messrs. A. A. Vantine & Co., of New York. The script is evidently old.

מלכו בר Malku son of
חגגו Ḥaggu.
חבל Woe!

2. Female figure; eight lines of inscription. Property of Messrs. A. A. Vantine & Co., of New York. The script is late. Date on inscription 522, Seleucid era, = 210 A. D.

עתי Athe
ברת daughter of
עתשור Athe-shur.
חבל Woe!
שנת In the year
ii .xx .c .v 522
בירח in the month
טבת Tebet.

With the name Athe-Shur compare עת־שור, בל־שור etc. It might, then, mean "Athe is a wall," i. e., a defense.

3. Male figure ; five lines of inscription. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Monumental script.

זבדעתה Zabd-Athe
בר והבא Son of Wahba
בר זבדעתה Son of Zabd-Athe,
ד' עבר לה which has erected for him
בא ברה Wahba his Son.

The names are well known. The family-tree would, then, be

¹ I have to thank Messrs. A. A. Vantine & Co., and General Cesnola, Director of the Metropolitan Museum, for kindly placing photographs of the inscriptions at my disposal.

Zabd-Athe

|
Wahba|
Zabd-Athe|
Wahba

4. Male figure ; eight lines of inscription. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The script is half monumental.

נפשא	Gravestone
דנה	this [of]
זכרעתה	Zabd-Athe
בר זכרעתה	Son of Zabd-Athe
די עבר לה	which has erected for him
והבא	Wahba
אהוהי	his brother.
חבל	Woe!

It is impossible to say whether either of the persons mentioned here is identical with the Zabd-Athe or Wahba of the preceding inscription.

5. Male figure ; three lines of inscription, which may be merely the remnant of a longer inscription. Script the same as the preceding. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

.....
.....
והבא	Wahba
די עבר	which has erected
אהוהי	his brother.

6. Upon the right hand side of the preceding figure there are remnants of three lines of an inscription. I do not believe that they have any connection with the inscription on the left hand side. As it is difficult to distinguish what the letters are, no sense can be made out of the inscription. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

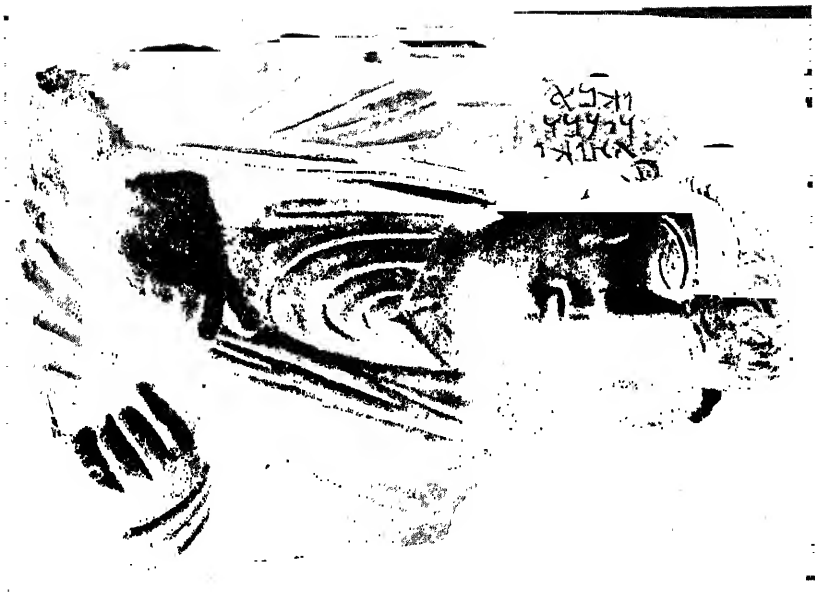
??
צביו . . .
א א
?
בר דקא ?



3.



4.



5.



6.



7. Male figure; four lines of inscription; late cursive script.
In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

עקיבא Akiba
בר עתעקב Son of Athe-Akab
גרבא the leper.
חבל Woé!

I believe that the name Akiba is new on the Palmyrene inscriptions. It is well known in later Hebrew. Compare also the Syriac ܐܬܗܐܐܒܐ Payne-Smith, col. 2962; Athe-Akab = *athakabos*, Lidzbarzki, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 348. גרבא occurs once again, Lidzbarzki, p. 252. Cf. the name גריבא, deVogüé, 141, 3.

Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Preterite Tenses of the Indicative.—By LOUIS H. GRAY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

THE question of the signification of the past tenses of the indicative in the Avesta is one of the most important in the study of the syntax of the sacred language of Iran.¹ The distinctions between the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect must be examined and the results of the investigation must ever be kept in mind if the full meaning of the Avesta texts is to be won. The force of the tenses of the Avestan has twice been made the subject of rigid investigation, first by Bartholomae *Altiran. Verb.* (1878) 220–240, and second by Spiegel *Vgl. Gramm. der altérân. Spr.* (1882) 491–496. The progress made in the interpretation of the Avesta since these two works appeared is a sufficient ground for a reconsideration of this problem.

The position won with regard to the force of the tenses of the Sanskrit, and especially of the Vedic dialect, is my starting point. The doctrines taught by Pāṇini concerning the Indian tenses are as follows. The aorist expresses past time (*luṇ*, iii, 2, 110); the imperfect denotes an act performed on some day other than the present one (*anadyatane luṇ*, iii, 2, 111 as contrasted with *adyatana*=aorist, *Vārttika* 2 to Pāṇini ii, 4, 3; *Vārttika* 3 to Pāṇini vi, 4, 114); the perfect signifies an act performed at a time when the speaker was not present (*parokṣe liṭ*, iii, 2, 115). The conclusions drawn by Delbrück, who has given Pāṇini the tribute which is his due (*Vgl. Synt.* ii, 273) may be summarized briefly. The imperfect is the tense of narration (*Altind. Tempusl.* 90, 132, *Altind. Synt.* 279, *Vgl. Synt.* ii, 268, 309); the aorist simply states that a given act was performed, or that a given event occurred at some time past ("Es kommt bei der aoristischen

¹ The present paper, like its companion study, "Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence", *Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci.* xiii, 549–588, is intended to be preliminary to the forthcoming "Avesta Syntax" of my teacher, Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. His counsel, ever cheerfully given, is highly appreciated by me, and from his rich collection of material, kindly placed at my disposal in manuscript, I have received much valuable assistance.

Aeusserung der Gesichtspunkt der Zeitdauer gar nicht in Betracht. Es wird ja nur betont, dass eine Handlung überhaupt in der Erscheinung getreten sei", Altind. Synt. 280, see also Altind. Tempusl. 128-129, 131, Vgl. Synt. ii, 240, 302-303, 309); the perfect signifies the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. Synt. ii, 177, 213, 269, 275, 309, cf. also Altind. Synt. 298, Altind. Tempusl. 100-101, 112, 131-132). In the Brāhmana period of the Sanskrit the perfect is used as a tense of narration besides the imperfect (Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 131, Altind. Synt. 300-301, Vgl. Synt. ii, 271-275, Whitney, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. xxiii, 85-94, Speyer, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. 52). The conclusions of Speyer, Skt. Synt. 246-257, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. 51-54 are in close accord with those of Delbrück.¹ Paul's *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*² 251 should be consulted in this connection.

The views concerning the tense-force of the Avesta which were expressed by Bartholomae and Spiegel may be summed up in a few words. According to the former of these two scholars the Iranian aorist, like the Greek, expresses an inchoative or an instantaneous act ("Der iranische aorist dient, wie der griechische, zum ausdrück der eintretenden, auf einen schlag vollzogenen handlung," Bartholomae, *Altiran. Verb.* 223, cf. Jackson, *Av. Gramm.* § 624), and he considers the imperfect to be preëminently the descriptive tense in Iranian as it is in Indian. The perfect is used, according to this scholar, in a present or in a preterite sense, or else it possesses no tense-force whatever (*Altiran. Verb.* 237). Spiegel agrees with Bartholomae in regard to the tense-force of the aorist and imperfect (Vgl. *Gramm.* 491, 493), but in his view the perfect denotes either a mere preterite, or else the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. *Gramm.* 495). The pluperfect tense occurs very rarely in the Avesta. In Bartholomae's opinion (*Altiran. Verb.* 240) it has merely the force of the ordinary imperfect. Similarly,

¹ Whitney, *Skt. Gramm.*² § 779, like other scholars, regarded the imperfect as the tense of narration. His theory, however, that the aorist "signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present" (§ 928, cf. also §§ 927, 929-30) is less acceptable in my judgment. The perfect, even in the Veda, was to him "the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present" (§ 823, cf. also §§ 821b, 822, and Pāṇini *chandasi liṭ*, iii, 2, 105). This conception of the force of the perfect tense seems to me to be somewhat inexact.

with reference to the Sanskrit pluperfect, Delbrück supposes that this tense is sometimes equivalent to the imperfect as being a tense of narration and sometimes to the aorist as being past in time (Vgl. Synt. ii, 228, 275-276, 309, Altind. Tempusl. 113, 132, Whitney, Skt. Gramm.² § 532a, cf. also Speyer, Skt. Synt. 256-257). This view does not seem to be supported by the Avesta. There, in my opinion, the pluperfect represents what we should expect from its formation in the perfect system. It appears to denote the result in past time of a previous action or event, and it does not appear to have the value of a simple preterite tense.

It is almost self-evident that the Younger Avesta shows a steady decline in ability to distinguish sharply between the various preterite tenses. This is true especially of the aorist, which is practically supplanted by the imperfect and occurs but seldom (Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227, Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 491, 494). The decreasing frequency of the aorist and the absorption of the aoristic functions by the imperfect in epic and classical Sanskrit is closely analogous (cf. Avery, JAOS. x, 319).

In the consideration of the force of the imperfect and aorist tenses in the Avesta a considerable difficulty meets the investigator at the very outset. While the Old Persian employs the augment in all the occurrences of the imperfect and aorist, the Avesta has very few augmented forms (Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 343-344, Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 57, 60-62; Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 56, 189-190; Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 466). The danger of confounding true imperfects and aorists with injunctives is, therefore, a serious one. Especially is this the case in the Gāthās, the very part of the Iranian scriptures where clearness were most desirable. Here the confusion between the past tenses of the indicative and the injunctive is the greatest. Many passages of the Gāthās may be interpreted equally well either as laid by Zarathushtra in time past, or, owing to the marked eschatological spirit which pervades these psalms, as referring to future time and especially to the Resurrection. In the Younger Avesta this difficulty is, fortunately, less serious, owing to the relative simplicity of the thought and style. In all passages considered in this study which possess traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit these ancient translations have been taken into account.

I have necessarily adopted a uniform rendering of the past tenses. The imperfect is translated in all instances by the English narrative tense ('he said'), the aorist by the auxiliary

‘did’ (he ‘did say’), the perfect and its preterite, the pluperfect, by the auxiliaries ‘has’, ‘had’, (‘he has said’ ‘he had said’).

I. Sentences containing the imperfect only.

In the following passages will be found examples of the imperfect indicative used as the tense of simple narration or description according to the theory set forth above.

Ys. 29. 8 :

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

*aēm mōi idā vistō yō nē aēvō sāsntā gūšatā
zaraθuštrō spitāmō : hvō nē mazdā vaštī ašāiēcā.
čarəkrəθrā srāvayəshē hyať hōi hūdēmōm dyūi vaxədrahyā.*

‘this man here hath been found for me, who alone heard our commandments, Zarathushtra Spitāma. He wisheth, O Mazda and Asha, to recite the duties when I shall give him a goodly upbuilding of speech.’

(Note the variant *guštā* K 37, C 1 for *gušatā* which Neryosengh renders by *cuçrāva*.)

Ys. 30. 6 :

*ayā nōiť ərəš višyātū daēvācīnā hyať iś ā dəbaomā
pərəsmanēng upā-ja sat hyať vərənātū ačištəm manō :
at aēšəməm hēndvārəntā yā bənayən ahūm marətanō.*

‘of the two the demons decided not aright, since deceit came upon them as they questioned when they chose the Worst Mind. Then they rushed together unto Wrath to defile the life of man.’

(The tradition renders *višyāta* by the present *viñnēnd*, *vivijanti*, but *upā-jasat* and *hēndvārəntā* by *matō hōmand*, *upāgacchat*, and *dūbārast hōmand*, *durāgacchan*.)

Ys. 31. 11 :

*hyať nē mazdā paourvīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā
θwā mananhā xratušcā hyať astvantəm dadā uštanəm
hyať šyaθənanācā sēnghəscā yaθrā vərənēng vaštā dāyetē.*

‘when first thou, Mazda, shapedst for us lives and consciences and wisdoms through thy Mind, when thou madest the body corporeal, (when thou madest) deeds and words whereby one may at will profess his beliefs.’

(The Pahlavī and Sanskrit tradition renders *tašō* by *tāšūt*, *ghatī-tavān*, and *dadā* by *dūt*, *adāh*.)

Ys. 32. 1:

*ahyūčā x'aētuš yāsaṭ ahyā vərəzənəm maṭ airyamnā
ahyā dāvū mahmī manōi ahurahyū urvāzemā mazdā:
θvōi dūtānō dānāmā tēng dārayō yōi vā daibišantī.*

‘of him he asked as kinsman, of him (he asked) as serf together with the confederate, of him the demons (asked): In my mind (I am) a friend of Ahura Mazda. May we be thy messengers! Them art thou to hold (in restraint) who hate you.’

(The tradition renders *yāsaṭ* by *bavīhūnast*.)

Ys. 34. 8:

*tāiš zī nī šyaohanāiš byentē yaēšū as pairī pourubiyō iθyejō
hyaṭ as aojyā nūidyānām θwahyā mazdā astū urvātahyā
yōi nōit ašəm mainyantā aēibiyō dūirē vohū as manō.*

‘by these deeds they affright us with whom there was destruction for many, since he was the stronger against the weaker(?), an oppressor of thy doctrine, Mazda: the Good Mind was far from them who regarded not Righteousness.’

(We may also regard *mainyantā* and *as* as injunctives, cf. the traditional renderings by *mīnēnd*, *munyante* and *barā . . . aītō*, *asti*.)

Ys. 43. 8:

*aṭ hōi aojī zaraθuštrō paourvīm
haiθyō dvaēšā hyaṭ isōyā drəgvāitē
aṭ ašāunē rafənō hīyēm aojōnghvaṭ.*

‘then to him I, Zarathushtra, spake: May I be a true foe, as far as I can, of the wicked, but a mighty joy to the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *aojī* by *gūft*, *pratjavocat*.)

Ys. 44. 6:

*taṭ θwā pərəsā vərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
yā fravaxšyā yezi tā aθā haiθyā
ašəm šyaohanāiš dəbəzaitī ārmaitiš
taiθyō xšāθrəm vohū činas mananāhā
kaēibiyō azīm rānyō-skərətīm gam tašō.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord, whether what I shall pronounce is true indeed: doth Armaiti advance Righteousness by her deeds? The Good Mind taught thy Kingdom; for whom shapedst thou the joy-giving cow Azi?’

(The tradition renders *činas* by *čāšēt*, *āsvādayati*, and *tašō* by *tāšēt*, *aghaṭayah*.)

Ys. 45. 5 :

*aṭ fravaaxšyā hyaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntōtamō
vacō srūidyāi hyaṭ marətaēibyō vahīštəm.*

‘and I shall pronounce what the Holiest said unto me, the word which is best for mortals to hear.’

(The tradition renders *mraoṭ* by *gūft*, *abravūt*.)

Ys. 46. 17 :

*yaθrā vā afšmānī sənghānī
nōit anašmām dājamāspā hvō-gvā
hadā vōstā vahmāng sərəošū rādāmhō
yō vičīnaoṭ dāθmēū adāθmēū
dangrā mantū ašū mazdā ahurō.*

‘where I shall announce your measures, not unmeasured, O wise Hvogvian Jāmāspa, prayers with your creation through obedience to the generous giver, who, even Mazda Ahura, decided between good and evil with his wise councillor Righteousness.’

(The tradition renders *vičīnaoṭ* by *barā vijmēt*, *vivīnakti*.)

Ys. 48. 5 :

gavōi vərəzyātəm təm nō xʷarəθūi fšuyō.

‘let them work for the cow whom thou madest to thrive for our food.’

(The tradition renders *fšuyō* by *sphītayati*.)

Examples of the imperfect injunctive may be quoted from the Gāthās in this connection. In the two passages here chosen the injunctive value of the augmentless imperfect form is supported by the traditional renderings. In the majority of cases, however, the decision whether a passage contains an imperfect indicative or an injunctive becomes almost entirely a matter of subjective judgment. Perhaps we may go so far as to say that the double force of the augmentless form was intended by the great Prophet, whose vivid imagination beheld the future oftentimes as the past.

Ys. 34. 9 :

*yōi spəntəm ārmaitīm θwahyā mazdā bərəxdəm vīdušō
duš-šyaothanā av azazaṭ vanhēuš əvistī manušhō
aēibyō maš ašū syazdaṭ yavaṭ ahmat aurunā xrafstrā.*

‘those who know that Spenta Armaiti is beloved of thee, O Mazda, (but who) are to fall away through evil doing through ignorance of the Good Mind, from them Righteousness

is to withdraw afar, as from us the wild noxious creatures (are to withdraw).¹

(The tradition renders *avazazať* by *barū seḏkūnyēn*, *parikṣeṣyanti*, but *syazdať* by *prabhracyati*.)

Ys. 44. 15.

tať θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
yezī ahyā ašā pōi mať ašayehū
hyať hām spūdlā anaočawhā jamaētē
avūiš urvūtāiš yā tū mazdā dīdərəžō
kuθrū ayā kahmāi vananqm da dāt.

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: whether thou hast power through Righteousness over him to ward (him) off from me; when the two hostile hosts shall come together on account of those doctrines which thou art to desire to have maintained, unto which of the twain art thou to give the victory?’

(The tradition glosses *dīdərəžō* as eschatological; *aēy*, *Dīnō rūbākīh būndak yehevūnēt dēn zak damānō*; *kila*, *Dīneḥ pravrttiḥ sampūrṇā bhaviṣyati antaḥ tasmin kāle*. It renders *dadāt* by *yehabūnī-aīt*, *dāsyati*.)¹

b. Younger Avesta.

The imperfect retains its original force unchanged in the younger Avesta. It has, furthermore, absorbed for the most part the functions of the aorist tense. The imperfect is very frequent in the younger Avesta. A very few examples from this portion of the texts will suffice to show the force of the imperfect in the later period of the language.

Ys. 9. 15 (YAv. verse):

tūm zamargūzō ākəranavō
vīspe duēva zaraθuštra.

‘thou, Zarathushtra, madest all the demons to hide beneath the earth.’

(The tradition renders *ākəranavō* by *karť hōmanih*, *akarot*.)

Ys. 57. 17 (YAv. verse):

yō nōit pasčāēta hušəʾafa
yať mainyū dāman da idētəm.

¹ Further examples of the imperfect injunctive in Avestan are given by Gray, *Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci.* xii, 563, 578-574.

‘who hath not slept after that the two spirits created the creation.’

(The tradition renders *daiδitəm* by *yehabūnūt*. The variant *hušx^uafayať* J 15 for the perf. part. *hušx^uafa* [Jackson, Reader 109, but perf. ind.—cf. Skt. *suṣvāpa*—Bartholomae, Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 204] is noteworthy.)

Yt. 5. 127–129 (YAv. verse):

minum barať huāzāta
arədvī sūra anāhita
upa təm srīrəm manaθrim
hā hē maδim nyūzata . . .
upairi pušəm bandayata . . .
baoraini vastrā vanhata.

‘the well-born Ardvī Sūra Anāhita wore a collar upon her fair neck, she girt her waist, . . . she bound on a crown, . . . she clad herself in beaver robes.’

(Note the variant *bandayeti*—present—J 10 for *bandayata*.)

Yt. 8. 38 (YAv. verse):

avi dim ahurō mazdā
avən aməšā spənta
vouru-gaoyaoitiš hē miθrō
pouru pantəm fračaēšāzētəm
ā dim paskūt anumarəzatəm
ašišča vanuhi bərəzaiti
pārəndiča raoraba
vīspəm ā ahmāt yať aēm
paīti-apayať vazəmnō
x^uanvantəm avi gairīm.

‘Ahura Mazda and the Amshaspands assisted him, Mithra, the lord of broad pastures [and Ahura—see Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta ii, 425 n. 85] taught him the road in full, after him swept along both the lofty Ashi Vannuhi and Pārendi of the swift chariot, all the time until he reached in his course the mountain Hvanvant.’

Ys. 13. 77–78 (YAv. verse):

yať titarať arō mainyuš
kāhīm ašahe vanhəuš
antarə pairi-av āitəm
vohuča manō ātaršča

78 *tā hē taurvayatəm thazšā*
anrahe mainyāuš drvatō
yať nōit āpō takāiš stayat
nōit urvarā uruθmabyō
hakat sūrahe daθušō
axayātō ahurahe mazdā
frātačīn āpō savištā
uzuxšyānčū urvarā.

‘when Anra Mainyu crossed the creation of good Righteousness, both the Good Mind and the Fire came to help, they [the Fravashis] overcame the malicious acts of the wicked Anra Mainyu, so that he stopped not the waters in their courses, nor the plants in their growths; straightway flowed forth the waters most mighty of the mighty creator, the majestic Ahura Mazda, and the plants grew.’

(Note the variant *avāiti*—present—K 37 for *avāitəm*.)

Yt. 17. 55 (YAv. verse):

yať mēm tura pazdayanta
āsu-aspa naotarača
āat azəm tanūm aguze
adairi pādəm gōuš aršnō baremāyaonahe
āat mēm fraguzayanta
yōi apərənāyu tauruna
yōi kainīna anupaētu mašyānəm.

‘when the Turanians and swift-horsed Naotairyans chased me, then I hid my body beneath the foot of a laden(?) bull; then there discovered me young boys and maidens unsullied by men.’

(Both here and in the similar passage Yt. 17. 56 K 12 has the present *pazdayanti* for *pazdayanta*. Similarly K 12, J 10 read the present *fraguzayanti* in § 55 for *fraguzayanta*, although they have the imperfect *fraguzayanta* in § 56.)

Vd. 2. 3 (YAv. verse):

āat hē mraom zaraθuštra
azəm yō ahurō mazdā.

‘then I, Ahura Mazda, O Zarathushtra, said to him.’
 (The tradition renders *mraom* by *gūftam*.)

II. Sentences containing the aorist only.

It is not altogether improbable that at an early time in the Indo-Iranian period the various formations of the aorist, such as

the root-aorist, the sibilant aorist, or the reduplicated aorist, expressed different shades of the force of the aoristic tense. However this may have been, it is clear that by the close of the Indo-Iranian period all formations of the aorist had the same signification, that of the simple statement that a certain action or event occurred in past time (Delbrück, *Altind. Tempusl.* 88; Vgl. *Synt.* ii, 230).

Ys. 28. 7:

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

dāidī ašā tām ašim vaxhēuš āyaptā mananōhō
dāidī tā ārmaitē vištāspāi īšəm maibiyācā
dāstū mazdā ašayācā yā vō mąθrā srəvim ārādā.

‘give, O Asha, that blessing, the boon of the Good Mind, grant thou, Ārmaiti, (our) desire to Vištāspa and to me; (and) thou, O Mazda, art to give what words I, your prophet, did hear.’

Ys. 29. 10:

yūžəm aēibyō ahurā aogō dātā ašā ašathrēmčā
avat volū mananōhū yā hušētīs rāmāmčā dāt
ažmčēt ahyā mazdā θwam mēšhī paourvīm vaēdəm.

‘do ye give them strength, O Lord, and the Kingdom through Righteousness, such through the Good Mind that he may give fair abodes and joy; I in sooth, O Mazda, did think thee to be the first possessor of this.’

(The tradition renders *mēšhī* by *mīnam*, *ahyāyāmi*.)

Ys. 30. 3:

ač tā mainiyū pouruyē yā yēmā a^oafənā asrvātəm
manahičā vačahičā šyaobanōi hī vahyō akəmčā
āscā huđānōhō əraš višyātā nōit duždānōhō.

‘now the two first spirits, the twins, of their own accord did proclaim both in thought and in word and in deed, what is better and what is evil; of them twain the benevolent did choose aright, but not so the malignant.’

(The tradition renders *asrvātəm* by *srūt*, *avocatūm*, and *višyātā* by *barā viñt*, *viđhaktavān*. The use of *višyātā* in Ys. 30. 6 is precisely similar, although Neryosengh renders it there by *viviñanti*.)

Ys. 31. 10:

ač hī ayā fravarētā vāstrīm ahyāi fšuyantəm
ahurəm ašavanəm vaxhēuš fšēnghīm mananōhō
nōit mazdā avāstryō davqscinā huməretōiš baxštā

‘then of these two he did choose for her the thrifty husbandman as a righteous lord, a promoter of the Good Mind; never, O Mazda, did one not a husbandman, even a Davans, enjoy good report.’

(The tradition renders *fravaratū* by *fravāftend* and *baxštū* by *ælkūnēt, pravarṣati*.)

Ys. 32. 3 :

*aṭ yūš duēvā vīspānōhō akāt mananōhō stā ēθrēm
yasčā vāt māš yazaitē drūjusčā parimatōiščā
šyaoṃam aipī daibitāna yūtīš asrūdām būmyāt haptaiθē.*

‘now ye demons and whoso honoreth you greatly, to advance hereafter the deceits whereby ye did become notorious in the sevenfold earth, are all seed from the Evil Mind and the Druj and Pride.’

Ys. 33. 6 :

*yē zaotā ašā ərəzūš hvō manyōuš ā vahištāt kayū.
ahmūt avā mananōhū yū vərəzyeidyāi mantā vāstryū
tā tōi izyāi ahurā mazdā darštōiščā hēm-parštōiščā.*

‘I as Zaotar, pure through Righteousness, desire from that Best Mind to further through that Mind what it did think to be relating to husbandry; for these two things of thine I long, O Ahura Madza, both to see thee and to question thee.’

Ys. 34. 10 :

*ahyā vanōhōuš mananōhō šyaoṃanā vaočāt grəbām huxratuš
spəntamčā ārmaitīm dāmīm vīdvāt hiθām ašahyā.*

‘the man of goodly wisdom did say to hold fast to the works of that Good Mind, knowing the creative Spenta Ārmaiti to be the abode of Righteousness.’

Ys. 35. 7 (GAv. prose) :

*ahurahyā zī aṭ vō mazdāt yasnəmčā vahmēmčā vahištəm amēh-
maidī gēuščā vāstrēm.*

‘verily worship and invocation of you, O Ahura Mazda, did we think to be the best thing and the pasture of the cow.’

(The tradition renders *amēhmaidī* by *mīnam, dhyāyāmi*.)

Ys. 37. 1 (GAv. prose) :

*itā āt yazamaidē ahurēm mazdām yē gəmčā ašəmčā dāt
apasčā dāt urvurāščā vanuhīš raqčāščā dāt būmīmčā vīspāčā
vohū.*

‘here now we worship Ahura Mazda, who did create both the Cow and Righteousness, who did create both the good waters and plants, who did create both the stars and the earth and all good things.’

(The tradition renders *dāt* by *yehabunt*, *dadāu*.)

Ys. 39. 4 (GAv. prose):

*yathā tū ī ahurā mazdā mēnghācā vaočasēcā dāsēcā
varəšēcā yā vohū athā tōi dadmahī athā ēšmahī athā θwā āiš
yazamaidē.*

‘as thou indeed, O Ahura Mazda, didst both think and say and give and do what is good, so we give to thee, so we teach, so we worship thee thereby.’

(The tradition renders *mēnghā* by *mīnišnō hōmanāi*, *manasi vartase*, and *vaočas* by *gōbišnō hōmanāi*, *vacasi vartase*.)

Ys. 43. 5:

*spəntəm at θwā mazdā mēng hī ahurā
hyat θwā anhēuš zaθōi darəsem paourvīm
hyat dā šyaothanā mīždavqan yācā xadā
akēm akūi vanuhīm ašim vanhaovē
θwā hunarā dāmōiš urvaēsē apēmē.*

‘then did I think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when I did see thee the first one at the birth of the world, when thou didst establish deeds and words having their rewards, evil for the evil, but a good blessing for the good, by thy virtue at creation’s final change.’

(The tradition renders *mēnghī* by *mīnūt hōmanih*, *amanštāh*, *darəsem* by *xadūtunt*, *dadarça*, and *dā* by *yehabunt*, *adāh*.)

Ys. 44. 7:

*tať θwā pərəsū ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
kō bərəxdəm tū št xšabrā mat ārmaitīm
kō uzəmēm čōrəť vyānayū puθrəm piθrē.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: who did fashion the lovely Ārmaiti together with the Kingdom, who by his wisdom did make the son dear to his father?’

(The tradition renders *tāšt* by *tāšūt*, *aghaťayat*, and *čōrəť* by *kartō*, *akarot*.)

Ys. 45. 10:

*tēm nō yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimaγžō
yō anmēnī mazdā srāvī ahurō*

*hyaṭ hōi ašū vohuṣṭā čōišt mananahā
 ašaθrōi hōi haurvātā aməratātā
 ahmāi stōi dan təvīšī utuyūitī.*

‘seeking to magnify with our hymns of Concord him who is called in immutability Mazda Ahura, since his Asha and Vohu Manah did promise that in his Kingdom should be Health and Immortality, in his mansion Strength and Eternity.’

(The tradition renders *čōišt* by *čāšitō*, *āsvādayati*.)

Ys. 46. 12 :

*hyaṭ us ašū naptyaēšū napsuṣṭā
 tūrahyaṭ uzjəm fryānahyā aofyaēšū
 āmatōiš gaēθā frādō θwaxsanhā
 aṭ īš vohū hēm aibi-mōist mananahā
 aēibyō rafedrāi mazdāi sastē ahurō.*

‘when Righteousness did come unto those that are to be called the children and grandchildren of the Turanian Fryāna who zealously furthereth the possessions of Ārmaiti, then the Good Mind did abide with them, (and) Ahura Mazda is announced to them for their comfort.’

(The tradition renders *aibi-mōist* by *ketrūnd*, *nivasanti*.)

Ys. 49. 5 :

*aṭ hvō mazdā īzācā āzūitišcā
 yō daēnəm vohū sārštā mananahā
 āmatōiš kasčit ašū huzəntuš
 tūišcā vīspāiš θwahnū ašaθrōi ahurā.*

‘now he, O Mazda, is both increase and prosperity whosoever did guard the Religion through the Good Mind, whoever hath saving knowledge of Ārmaiti through Righteousness, together with all those in thy Kingdom, Lord.’

(The tradition glosses *sārštā* by *zak ī min dīnō pētāk pavan frārūnōih vādūnyēn*.)

Ys. 51. 11 :

*kē urvaθō spitamāi zaraθuštrāi nā mazdā
 kē vā ašā āfraštā kē spentā ārmaitiš
 kē vā vanhēuš mananahō ačīstā magāi vərəšvō.*

‘what man, O Mazda, is a friend of Spitama Zarathushtra, or who did make questioning with Righteousness, with whom (did) Spenta Ārmaiti (make questioning), or what just man did make announcement to magnify the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *āfraštā* by *hampūrsūtō*, *aprechāt*.)

Ys. 53. 3 :

*tāmčā tū pouručistā haēcataspānā
spitāmū yezivē dugəclram zaraθuštrahē
varəhəuš paityāstəm manawhō ašahyū mazdātsčā taibyo dāt sarem
aθā hām frašvā θiwā xraθiwā spənīštā ārmatoiš hūdānvarəšvā.*

‘and him, thou Pourucista, Haēcataspian maiden, Spitamide, youthful daughter of Zarathushtra, he did give to thee as a husband, a friend of the Good Mind, Righteousness, and Mazda ; then make thou questioning with thy most holy wisdom in Ārmaiti’s knowledge-choosing matters.’

The following strophe seems to contain aorist injunctives rather than augmentless aorists.

Ys. 51. 15 :

*hyat nīždəm zaraθuštrō magavabyō čōišť parā
garō dəmānē ahurō mazdāť jasat pouruyō
tā vō volū manawhā ašāičā savūišť čivīšť.*

‘this reward Zarathushtra did promise in the presence of the great ones : In the Abode of Song Ahura Mazda is to be the first to come ; these things have been taught you by the Good Mind and by the blessings of Righteousness.’

b. Younger Avesta.

It has already been noted that the aorist occurs but rarely in the Younger Avesta. Its place has been usurped for the most part by the imperfect.

Ys. 19. 1-3 (YAv. prose) :

*čit avat vacō ās ahura mazda yat mē frāvaočō para asməm
para āpəm para zəm ... āat mraot ahurō mazdāť ba-ya aēša ās
ahunahe vairyehe spitama zaraθuštra yat tē frāvaočəm.*

‘what was that word, O Ahura Mazda, which thou didst pronounce to me in the presence of the heaven, in the presence of the water, in the presence of the earth ? ... then said Ahura Mazda : It was this portion of the Ahuna Vairya, O Spitama Zarathushtra, which I did pronounce unto thee.’

(The tradition renders *frāvaočō* by *yemalelūnēt*, *prāvocañ*. The use of *frāvaočīm* in Yt. 17. 22 is precisely similar.)¹

¹ It is to be noted that in Avestan as well as in Sanskrit the aorist stem *vaoč* *voc* has assumed the value of a secondary root.

Yt. 3. 2 (YAv. prose) :

mṛūiḍi bā vacō arš-vacō ahura mazda yaθa tē anhan yaθ aša vahišta frā dū hīš.

‘speak words truly spoken, O Ahura Mazda, as they were for thee when thou didst create through Asha Vahishta.’

Yt. 24. 20 (YAv. prose) :

imat uaxšm vacō fruvaočūt yaθa yaθ tē fra vaočūma.

‘this spoken word may he pronounce as we did pronounce it to thee.’

Vd. 2. 31 (YAv. prose and verse) :

āat mąsta yimō kuθa tē

axšm vaxšm kərənavāne

yū mē axša ahurō mazdā.

‘then Yima did think: How shall I make thy enclosure as Ahura Mazda said unto me.’

(The tradition renders *mąsta* by *mīnūt*.)

Vd. 15. 13 (YAv. prose) :

puθrām aēm narō varšta.

‘this man did beget the child.

(The tradition renders *varšta* by *vardūt*.)

Vd. 19. 14-15 (YAv. prose) :

*axatō nizbayaṃiha zaraθuštra imat dāma yaθ ahurahe mazdā.
vaxšm mē aspaš zaraθuštrō.*

‘do thou thyself, Zarathushtra, invoke this creation of Ahura Mazda. In my word Zarathushtra did delight.’

(The tradition renders *aspaš* by *madammūništō*.)

Medio-Passive Aorist 3. Sing. in -i.

The medio-passive aorist third singular in *-i* lost its original aoristic force in Avestan in my judgment. According to Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 51-61; Altind. Verb. 182; Altind. Synt. 265-267; Vgl. Synt. ii, 436-437, the Vedic medio-passive aorist in *-i* retains its aoristic value unchanged. A similar claim has been made for Avestan and Old Persian by Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227-228, 230, 233 and by Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 493-494. Whatever may be true of the Vedic Sanskrit, it seems to me that the Iranian medio-passive in *-i* lost its aoristic force at a very early period and became a mere preterite tense.

The medio-passive in *-i* is not frequent in Avestan. A few examples may, however, be cited.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 32. 8 :

aēšqm aēnanaham vīvanahušō srāvī yimasēit
yō mašyōng ēišnušō ahmālēng gāuš bayā a'āremnō
aēšqmēit ā ahnī θicalmī mazdā vīēiθōi aipī.

‘of these sinners even Yima, the son of Vivanhush, hath been accounted one, who (although) seeking to please our men, ate portions of the Cow ; apart from these men am I in thy judgment hereafter, O Mazda.’

(The tradition renders *srāvī* by *srūt*, *proktavān*. Cf. also Ys. 45. 10 ; 53. 1.)

Ys. 36. 6 (GAv. prose) :

sraēštqm at tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āvaēdayamahī mazdā ahurā
inā raočā barezištəm barəzimanqm avat yūt hvarō av āčī.

‘the most beautiful body of bodies we acknowledge to be thine, O Mazda Ahura, this light, the highest of the high, that which is called the sun.’

Ys. 44. 18 :

taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
kaθā ašā taṭ mīždəm hanānī
dasā aspā aršnavaitiš uštrəmčā
hyat mōi mazdā apīvaitī haurvātā
amərətātā yaθā hī tazībyō dāmhā.

‘This I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord : How through Righteousness shall I merit that reward, ten mares with foal and a camel, since, O Mazda, there hath become known to me Health and Immortality, that thou shalt give these twain of thine.’

(The tradition renders *apīvaitī* by *xavitūnam*, *vedmī*.)

b. *Younger Avesta.*

Yt. 8. 48 (YAv. prose) :

yim vīspāiš paitišmarənte yāiš spəntahe mainyēuš dāmən
adairi-zəmāišča upairi-zəmāišča yāča upāpa yāča upasma yāča
frapərəjən yāča ravasčarən yāča upairi tā akarana anayra
ašaonō stiš āidi.

‘upon whom all the creatures of the Holy Spirit think, both those below the earth and above the earth, below the waters and in the earth, winged and far-ranging, and all that which beyond these boundless and eternal things is called the world of the righteous.’

Yt. 19. 92-93 (YAv. verse):

*yim vərəθraγnam
yim barat taxmō θraētaonō
yat ažiš dahākō jāini
yim barat fraurase tūrō
yat drovīt zainīgāuš jāini
yim barat kava haosrava
yat tūrō jāini fraurase.*

‘that Victory which the sturdy Thraētaona bore when Azhi Dahāka was slain, which the Turanian Franrase bore when the wicked Zainīgāuš was slain, which King Haosravah bore when the Turanian Fraurase was slain.’¹

III. Sentences containing the perfect only.

The perfect seems to retain its original force unchanged in Avestan. It expresses the present result of a past action or event. No assistance in determining the value of the perfect tense is given by the traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit. The meagre verb-system of the Pahlavī precludes an accurate translation of the Indo-Iranian perfect, and the Sanskrit

¹ The Old Persian has two examples of the medio-passive in *-i*, *aθahy* and *adāri*, *adār(i)y*. Both these words seem to be used with the force of the imperfect, the tense with which they are significantly coordinated in the inscriptions. N Ra 20-22: *tyašām hačāma aθah[y ava a]kunava dātām tyā manā a[īta] adāri*, ‘what was said unto them by me, that they did; this my law was maintained’ (cf. also Bh. i, 20, 23-24); Bh. ii, 89-90: *utāšaiy [šaw]šma avajām duvarayā maiy basta adāriy haruvašim kāra avaiina*, ‘and I put out his eye; he was kept bound at my door; all the people saw him’ (cf. Bh. ii, 74-76); Bh. i, 25-26: *auramazdāmai y upastām abara yātā ima xšaθam [ad]āry*, ‘Auramazda brought me help until this kingdom was held.’ This coordination of the medio-passive aorist in *-i* with the imperfect in Old Persian is the more striking in view of the careful distinction observed by this dialect between the aorist and the imperfect in all other instances (see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Verb.* 222, 224-226; Spiegel, *Vgl. Gramm.* 498).

version is based upon the Pahlavī, reproducing, in the case of the perfect tense at least, the inaccuracy of the Middle Persian translation.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 13. 4 (GAv. prose):

īθū mainyā mamanūitē īθū vaočātarō īθū vāvərəzūtārō.

‘thus the two spirits have thought, thus they have spoken, thus they have done.’

(The tradition renders *mamanūitē* by *mīnam, manye*; *vaočātarō* by *yemalēlūnam, samuccarāmi*; *vāvərəzūtārō* by *varzam, samāccarāmi*.)

Ys. 28. 9:

*anāiš vñ nōitē ahurū mazdā ašmčū yānāiš zaranaēmū
manasčū hyaṭ valištem yōi vñ yōiθamā dasēm stūtəm
yūžəm zəvīštyānhō īšō ašaθrəməčū savanhəm.*

‘by these boons may we not auger thee, O Ahura Mazda and Righteousness and the Good Mind, we who have been zealous in the giving of praises; ye are friendly and the Kingdom of wish and of blessings’ (i. e. the blessed, wished-for Kingdom).

Ys. 29. 4:

*mazdā saxārō mairištō yū zī vāvərəzōi pairi-čiθitē
dāēvūiščā mašyāiščā yācū varəšaitē aipī-čiθitē
hvō vīčirō ahurō aθā nō aṇhaṭ yaθā hvō vasat.*

‘Mazda of words is most mindful which have been done aforetime both by demons and men and which will be done hereafter; he is the deciding lord, so be it unto us as he is to wish.’

(The tradition renders *vāvərəzōi* by *varzēt, ācāritāni*.)

Ys. 32. 15:

*anāiš ā vī-nēnāsā yū karapōtāsčā kəvītāsčā
avāiš aibī yəng dainē nōitē jyātəuš xšayamnəng vasō
tōi ābyā bairyāntē varəhəuš ā dəmānē manəhō.*

‘In accordance with those doctrines, there hath perished both the Karapship and the Kaviship; in accordance with these (doctrines, however) they whom (the wicked) make not masters of (their own) life at will shall be borne by the two [Haurvatāt and Ameretāt] to the home of the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *vī-nōnāsū* by *harā aūbīnō yehevānd.*)

Ys. 33. 10:

*vīspāt stōi luḡūtayō yā zī ā vharō yāsčū hantī
yāsčū mazdā bavaintī θwahmī hīs zaošc ābaršōhvā
vohū uršyā mananhā xšaθrā ašācū uštā tanūm.*

‘all blessings of life in the world which have been and which are and which are to be, distribute these, O Mazda, in thy love, increase our body in health through the Good Mind, the Kingdom, and Righteousness.’

(The tradition renders *āvhare*, *hantī*, and *bavaintī* by *būt hōmand*, *sambhātāh santi*; *am hōmund*, *santi*; and *am yehevānd* [*min kevan frāz*], *bhavisyanti* respectively.)

Ys. 34. 5:

*kat vō xšaθrēm kū vštīš šyuoθanāi mazdā yaθū vā hahmī
ašū vohū mananhā θrāyōīdyāi drīgām yūšmākəm
parō vā vīspāiš parō vaoxəm ā dāevāiščū xrafstrāiš mašyāiščū.*

‘what is your Kingdom, what your power to do, O Mazda, as I implore, to protect your poor through Righteousness and the Good Mind? we have exalted you in the presence of demons, brutes, and men.’

(The tradition renders *parō vaoxəm* by *pēš gūft hōmanēt*, *prāk uktāh stha.*)

Ys. 39. 2 (GAv. prose):

*ašūnūm āat urunō yuzumaidē kučō-zātanūmēt narqmčā nāiri-
nūmčā yačšūm vahehīs dānēt vanuīntī vā vānghən vū vaoxarō
vā.*

‘and we worship the souls of the righteous whensoever born, both men and women, whose good religions are either conquering, or are to conquer, or have conquered.’

Ys. 44. 13:

*tač θwā pərəsā xraš mōi vaočū ahurā
kaθā drujəm nīš ahmat ā nīš nāšāmā
tāng ā avā yōi asruštōiš pərənānhō
nōič ašahyā ādivyeīntī hačōmnā
nōič frasayā vanhōuš čāxnarō mananhō.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: How shall we drive the Druj from us down upon those who, full of unbelief, care not for Righteousness following it, nor have they taken delight in the questioning of the Good Mind.’

Ys. 49. 1:

*aṭ mā yavā bēdvō pafrē mazištō
 yō dušrōθrīš čīwēnušā ašā mazdā
 vaxmih ādā gaidē mōi ā mōi arapā
 ahjā vohū aošō vīdā manawhā.*

‘how long now hath the mightiest Bendva held me in combat, me who am desirous, O Mazda, to please the evil hosts through Righteousness! Come to me with a good gift, give me joy, compass his death through the Good Mind.’

Ys. 50. 1:

*kaṭ mōi urvā īsē čahjā avanhō
 kō mōi pasēuš kō mō nā θrātā vīstō
 anyō ašāt θwaṭcā mazdā ahurā
 azdā zūtā vahištācā manawhō.*

‘verily my prayer is (lit.: in my prayer): What power hath my soul had over any help, what man hath been found as protector for my herd, what one for me other than Righteousness and thee, O Mazda Ahura, and the Best Mind?’

(The tradition renders *īsē* by *xwāstār hōmanam*, *abhi-lāṣayāmi*.)

Ys. 51. 8:

*aṭ zī tōi vaxšyā mazdā vīdušrē zī nū mruyāt
 hyaṭ akōyā drəgvaitē uštā yō ašəm dā drē
 hvō zī mθrā šyātō yō vīdušē mravaitē.*

‘then verily shall I say unto thee, O Mazda, for a man should speak unto the wise, what is woe to the wicked is weal to him who hath upheld Righteousness, for he hath peace through the Word who speaketh unto the wise.’

(The tradition renders *dādrē* by *dhārayet*.)

b. Younger Avesta.

The original force of the perfect is retained in general unchanged in the Younger Avesta as well as in the Gāthās. In the latest portions of the Younger Avestan texts, however, the peculiar force of the perfect is in great part lost, for the perfect, like the aorist, becomes at times almost equivalent with the imperfect. The perfect occurs quite frequently in the Younger Avesta.

Ys. I. 1 (YAv. prose and verse) :

nivaēdayemi hankārayemi daθušō ahurahe mazdā...

yō no daḍa yō tataša

yō tuθruyē yō mainyuš spəntōtəmō.

‘I announce, I offer unto the creator Ahura Mazda,... who hath created us, who hath fashioned us, who hath nurtured us, the Spirit most holy.’

(The tradition renders *daḍa* by *dātō hōmanam*, *dulāu*; *tataša* by *tāšēt hōmanam*, *ghatayāmāsa*, and *tuθruyē* by *parvart hōmanam*, *pratyapālayat*.)

Ys. 8. 2 (YAv. prose) :

x̌arata narō aētəm myazdēm yōi dim haṇhāna ašūča fr̥rətiča.

‘eat, O men, this oblation, ye who have merited it both through righteousness and through piety.’

Ys. 9. 1 (YAv. verse) :

kō narə aḥi

yim azəm višpahe anhēuš

astvatō sraēštəm dāḍarəsa

x̌ahe gayeḥe x̌anvatō aməšahe.

‘who art thou, O man, the most beautiful of all the material world that I have seen with thy glorious, immortal life?’

(The tradition renders *dāḍarəsa* by *xazūtunēt*, *dadarça*.)

Ys. 10. 12 (YAv. verse) :

ā tē baēšaza irīraθarə

vanhēuš mananhō mayābyō.

‘for thee through the arts of the Good Mind remedies have mingled.’

(The tradition renders *irīraθarə* by *gūmāi*, *arogyayukto* ‘si.’)

Ys. 62. 7-8 (YAv. verse) :

višpaēibyō sastīm baraiti

ātarš mazdā ahurahe

yaēibyō aēm ḥam-pačāite

ašāfnīmča sūirīmča ...

višpanəm para-čarəntəm

ātarš zasta ādiḍaya.

‘unto all the Fire of Mazda Ahura beareth proclamation for whom he is wont to cook [iterative subjunctive] the evening and the morning meal,... the Fire hath looked upon the hands of all that pass by.’

(The coordination of the present and perfect in this passage is noteworthy. The tradition renders *ādiḍaya* by *nikirīz*.)

Ys. 65. 9 (YAv. verse) :

kuθra vāčō uoi-būta
yū hē čaxse aēθra-paitiš.

‘what becomes of the words which the teacher hath taught him?’

(The tradition renders *čaxse* by *čūšēt*.)

Ys. 71. 10 (YAv. prose) :

vispe tē ahurō mazdā hvapō varuuhš dāmən ašaonš yazama-
ide yāiš da dāθa pouruča vohuča.

‘all thy good, righteous creations we worship, O beneficent Ahura Mazda, which thou hast created both many and good.’

(The tradition renders *dadāθa* by *yehabūntō*.)

Yt. 10. 79=81 (YAv. verse) :

yō rašnuš daide māθanəm
yahmāi rašnuš darəyāi hazədrāi
frabavara manavaintīm.

‘who hath given Rashnu (sic!), an abode to whom Rashnu hath conveyed a home for long companionship.’

Yt. 17. 17 (YAv. verse) :

kō ahi yō məm zbayehi
yehhe azəm frāyō zbayentəm
sračštəm susruye vāčim.

‘who art thou that invokest me, whose voice I have heard as the most beautiful of those that invoke me often.’

Yt. 19. 8 (YAv. prose) :

yavat anu aipi āite garayō višastarə vīspəm avat aipi
draonō bažat θaurunačča raθačštāiča vāstryūiča fšuyente.

‘as far as those mountains have extended, all that distance one is to present a cake both to the fire-priest and to the warrior and to the thrifty husbandman.’

Yt. 22. 8 (YAv. prose):

*kuādaḍaem vātō vāiti yim yava vātēm nāwhābya hubaoiḍi-
tēməm jīyaurva.*

‘whence bloweth the wind, which is the sweetest wind I have ever breathed with my nostrils?’

(The tradition renders *jīyaurva* by *vaxlūnt*. See also Yt. 22. 26.)

Vd. 4. 46 (YAv. prose):

*ham-taptibyo aīwyo ēāwrare nərəbyō zarathuštra mā gōuš mā
vastrake hatō adāitīm naocōit.*

‘before the heated waters (which) they have made for men, O Zarathuštra, one should not say aught unlawful of that which is kine or clothing.’

(The tradition renders *ēāwrare* by *kartar-aš*.)

Vd. 5. 4 (YAv. prose):

*yeziča aēte nasāvō ... narəm āstryeintīm āwhāt išarə-štāitya
mē vīspō anhuš astvīt išasəm jīt-ašəm xraodaṭ-urvō pāsō-tanuš
frōna āwhəm nasunəm yā paiti āya zomā irīritharə.*

‘if these corpses shall defile man, ... straightway (will or would be) all my material world desiring the destruction of righteousness, with hardened soul and damned, through the multitude of those corpses which have perished on this earth.’

(The tradition renders *irīritharə* by *vafūrent*.)

Vd. 6. 32 (YAv. prose):

*aīhāt āpō para-hinčayən yaṭ vā naēməm yaṭ vā θrišum yaṭ
vā āθrušum yaṭ vā paxtanhum yezi tūtava navāt tūtava.*

‘of that water should they sprinkle either a half, or a third, or a quarter, or a fifth, according as he hath been able or hath not been able.’

(The tradition renders *tūtava* by *tūbānā*.)

Vd. 8. 97 (YAv. prose and verse):

*kaṭ tā nara yaoždayən anhən ašūm ahura mazda yā nasūm
ava-hišta.*

dūire asahi razanhum.

‘can those men be purified, O righteous Ahura Mazda, who have touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness?’

(The tradition renders *ava-hišta* by *barā yekavīmūnēt*. The parallel passage Vd. 8. 33 has the imperfect *ava-hištāt*, although here also L 2, Br. 1, K 10 have the perfect *hišta*.)

Vd. 14. 4 (YAv. prose) :

ham-irista aētayān urvarayān yū vaoē hadhānāpāta.

‘mingled with that plant which is called Hadhānāpāta.’

(Note the variant reading *vāci* K 1 for *vaoē*. The tradition renders *vaoē* by *gūft*. The same use of the perfect *vaoē* is found in Yt. 10. 88; 13. 152; 14. 55.)

Vd. 21. 2 (YAv. prose) :

*yayata dūmna yayatu frā-āpəm nyāpəm upa-āpəm haz-
abrō-vārayō baūvarə-vārayasēt.*

‘the cloud hath come, hath come, to the water above, the water below, the water beneath, with a thousand drops, with ten thousand drops.’

(The tradition renders *yayata* by *rapat*, but by *sātūnēt* ZPGl. 16. 9.)

Frag. Tah. 24–26 (YAv. prose) :

tanu-mazō ašayānti yō tanu-mazō biraošat (read *draošat*) *tanu-
mazō ē ašayamēt ašayam pfrē yān nōit yava miθō mamne
nōit miθō vavača nōit vavarəza.*

‘he merits a tanu-mazah who deceives (to the amount of) a tanu-mazah, for he who hath never thought deceit, nor spoken deceit, nor done deceit, hath gained as much merit as a tanu-mazah.’

The tradition renders *pfrē* by *ambūrēt*, *mamne* by *mīnūt*, *vavača* by *gūft*, and *vavarəza* by *kart*.)

Frag. Tah. 105–106 (YAv. prose) :

*nōit hāu ās vaoze zaraθuštra nōit ahmūt vašata yō nōit ašahe
vahištahē bərəjī framarətahe mayā vaoze.*

‘neither hath this body advanced, O Zarathuštra, nor is he ever to advance, who hath not advanced the arts of Asha Vahishta lovingly studied.’

(The tradition renders *vaoze* by *vāzīnūtār*.)

Nir. 19 (YAv. prose) :

*dahmō dahmāi aoxte frā mū nərə gūrayōiš yač ratuš fritōiš
āsat visaiti dām fraγrārayō nōit fraγrārayēiti aēšō ratuφriš yō
jaγāra.*

‘the pious saith to the pious: Awake me, O man, that the master of satisfaction may come. (If) the awakening cometh to the

one, (but the other) awakeneth not, he satisfyeth his master who hath awakened.' (See Bartholomae, IF. v. 471-372.)

The perfect is used very rarely with injunctive force in the Younger Avesta.

Yt. 13. 150 (YAv. prose):

paoiryan tkaēšō yazamaide nmānanamča vīšamča zantunamča dahyunamča yōi āpharə ... yōi bābvarə ... yōi henti.

'the first faithful we worship who have been both in the houses and in the villages and in the tribes and in the countries, ... who are to be (?), ... who are.'

IV. Sentences containing the Pluperfect only.

The pluperfect is extremely rare in Avestan (Jackson Av. Gramm. § 602, Bartholomae Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 89, 198). Its occurrence in Avestan is scarcely frequent enough to enable us to determine whether it still retained what would seem to have been its original value, the expression of the result in past time of a prior action or event, or whether, like the Sanskrit pluperfect (see above p. 113-114) it simply denoted preterite time.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 32. 6:

*pourū-āēnā ēn āxštā yāiš srāvahyeitī yezi tāiš aθā
hātū-marānē ahurā vahištā vōistā mananhā
θwahnī vō mazdā āšabrōi āšūiēā sēnghō vīdām.*

'the sinful man had perished through the very things by which he will be heard of, if so be; through the Best Mind thou knowest, O Lord remembering what things soever are, I am to act in thy Kingdom as your preacher, O Mazda and Asha.'

(The tradition renders *ēnāxštā* by *ākūnḱate*. The verse is obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

Ys. 51. 12:

*nōitū tā īm xšnāuš vaēpyō kəvinō pərətō zəmə
zaraθuštrəm spitāməm hyaṭ ahmī urūra ost ašto
hyaṭ hōi īm čaratasčā aodərəščā zōišənū vāzā.*

'nor did the heretic vaēpya delight him, Zarathushtra Spitāma, in the depth of winter, since he had prevented him from being with him when there came upon him the fierceness and strength of the cold.'

(Read *zimō* for *zəmō* with Pt 4, J 3, 6, Jm 1, P 6, Ml 1, and the tradition.)

b. Younger Avesta.

Yt. 19. 68-69 (YAv. verse):

hačaiti dīm aspahē aqjō ...
aθra pašcaēta vaozirəm
baodəntō šudəm taršnamča
baodəntō aotəm urvāxramča.

‘the strength of a horse attendeth him, ... thereafter had come those knowing hunger and thirst, those knowing cold and heat.’

V. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Aorist.

Thus far we have considered passages which contain only a single one of the preterite tenses, but the distinctions already set forth with regard to the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect become still more clear when different past tenses stand side by side in the same sentence. The presence of the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side in the same Gāthic strophe is not to be regarded, in my judgment, as a sign of syntactic decay. In the Younger Avesta, on the other hand, the various preterite tenses may be coordinated, as a natural result of the gradual loss of perception of the original difference between the past tenses of the indicative.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 29. 9:

aṭṭā gēuš urvā raostā yē anačšəm xšənmānē rā dən
vāčəm nərəš asūrahya yēm ā vasəmī īšā xšəθrīm
kadā yavā hvō anhaṭ yē hōi dadat̃ zastavut̃ avō.

‘and then the Soul of the Kine wailed: I who did gain for my wretched self the impotent voice of a cowardly man, when I long for one sovereign according to his will; when shall he be who is to give me mighty help?’

(The tradition renders *raostā* by *garzūtō*, *krandati*.)

Ys. 31. 7.

yastā mantā pouruyō raočēbiš rōiθwen xʷāθrā
hvō xraθwā dāmiš ašəm yā dār ayaṭ vahišəm manō
tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō yē ā nūrēmčēt̃ āhurā hāmō.

‘who first did think to fill these glorious spaces with light, he through his wisdom is the creator of Righteousness, whereby

he sustained the Best Mind; through this spirit thou increasedst, O Mazda Ahura, who art the same even until now.'

(The tradition renders *dārayaṭ* by *yaxšenunētō*, *dadau*, and *uaxšyō* by *vaxšunēt*, *vikācayāt*.)

Ys. 32. 2 :

*aiibyo mazdā ahurō sārəmnō vohū manawhā
asābrāt hačā pairi-mraoṭ ašā huš-huax wənōvātū
spəntəm vō ārmaitim vaxvūlūm varəmaidi hā nō awaṭ.*

'to them Mazda Ahura, being lord with the Good Mind, replied from the Kingdom with the goodly fellowship of glorious Righteousness: We did choose for you (ethical dative) the good Spenta Ārmaiti, may she be ours!'

(The tradition renders *pairi-mraoṭ* by *gūft*, *abravīt* and *varəmaidi* by *dōšəm*, *mītrayāmi*.)

Ys. 34. 13 :

*təm advānəm ahurā yəm mōi mraoṭ varəhūš manawhō
daēnēt saošyantəm yā hū-karētā ašācēt urvāxšaṭ
hyaṭ ēvištā hūdābyō mīzdam mazdā yehyā tū daθrəm.*

'that way of which thou, Lord, spakest to me as being that of the Good Mind, that of the religion of the Soshyants, whereby deeds well-done in accordance with Righteousness are to grow, since one did teach to the benevolent the reward of which thou, Mazda, art the deposit.'

(The tradition renders *mraoṭ* by *yemalelūnāi*, and *ēvištā* by *čāšitō*, *āsvādayah*.)

Ys. 43. 11 :

*spəntəm aṭ θwā mazdā mēnghī ahurā
hyaṭ mā vohū pairi-ṣasaṭ manawhā
hyaṭ xšmā urdūiš dīdaišhē paourvīm
sādrā mōi səs mašyačšū zarazdāitiš
taṭ varəzeydyāi hyaṭ mōi mraoṭā vahištəm.*

'then I did think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when the Good Mind came unto me, when first I learned through your words—Hard, did he announce unto me, is holding fast the faith among men—to do that which ye said unto me is the best thing.'

(The tradition renders *mēnghī* by *mīnīt*, *homanīh*, *amānsthāh*; *pairi-ṣasaṭ* by *barā maṭō*, *samāgacchat*; *dīdaišhē* by *nikēzītō*; *səs* and *mraoṭā* by *gūft*, *avocat*.)

Ys. 46. 7 :

*kōm nū mazdā mavaitē pāyūm dadūt
hyat mā drəgvāt didarəšatā aēnanhē
anyōm θwahlmāt āθrasēu manawhasēu
yayēt šyaobunāiš ašom θraošta ahurē
təm mōi duxsəm dučnayēi frāvaočē.*

‘when the wicked sought to hold me to sin, whom appointed man as a protector of one like me, other than thy Fire and Mind, through whose deeds Righteousness did prosper, O Lord? Pronounce to me that wise knowledge of the Religion.’

(Note the variant *didarštā* F 2, II 1 for *didarəšatā*. The tradition renders *dadūt* by *yehabūnt*, *duttūh*; *didarəšatā* by *dadhāti*, and *θraoštā* by *fravarēm*, *pālayāmi*.)

Ys. 47. 3 :

*ahyā manyāuš tvēm ahī tā spentō
yō ahmāi gəm rānyō-skəratīm hōm-taša
at hōi vāstrāi rāmā-dā ārmaitīm
hyat hōm vohū mazdā hōm-fraštā manawhā.*

‘of that spirit thou art the holy one hereby, who pleasure-bestowing fashioned for us the joy-giving Cow, and Armaiti for her pasture, when it [the Spirit] did hold questioning, O Mazda, with the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *hōm-taša* by *hamtāšit*, *samāspjat*, and *hōm-fraštā* by *saṃglistah*.)

Ys. 49. 4 :

*yōi duš-xrəθwā ačšəməm varədən rāməmə
æʷāiš hizubīš fšuyasū afšuyantō
yačšəm nōit hvarštūiš vəs dužvarštā
tōi dāčvəng dən yā drəgvātō dāčnā.*

‘those who augmented wrath and violence through their folly, with their own tongues, being thrifless among the thrifty, whose evil deeds did have no pleasure because of good deeds, they (are) in the house of the demons(?) through the religion of the wicked.’

(The tradition renders *varədən* by *vārēt*, *yekavīmūnētō*, *varšantah santi*, and *vas* by *vāñcitāh*. The last two lines are obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

b. *Younger Avesta.*

Ys. 9. 13 (YAv. verse) :

*hū ahmāi ašiš ərənāvī
taš ahmāi jasat āyaptəm
yaš hē tūm us-zayamha
tūm ərəzvō zaraθuštra.*

‘this blessing did one find for him, this boon came to him that thou wert born unto him, thou, the just Zarathushtra.’

(The tradition renders *ərənāvī* by *kartō*, *cakre*; *jasat* by *mat*, *samprāpa*, and *us-zayamha* by *zerxunt hōmanāi*, *uccāirjātah*.)

Vsp. 12. 4 (YAv. prose) :

*humaya mainyāmaide ya daθat ahurō mazdā ašava
θraošta vohu manamha vaxšt aša.*

‘we meditate upon the good kinds of knowledge which the righteous Ahura Mazda created, and the Good Mind did nurture, and Righteousness did increase.’

(The tradition renders *daθat* by *yehabunt*; *θraošta* by *parvart*, and *vaxšt* by *vaxšnūt*.)

Yt. 4. 1 (YAv. prose) :

*azəm daδəm haurvatātō narəm ašaonəm avāšča rafnāšča
baošnāšča xštāšča avōi frača ya oəmaide.*

‘I created for righteous men both the helps and the pleasures and the enjoyments and the peculiar blessings of Haurvatāt, and we did confer (them) upon him.’

Vd. 2. 11 (YAv. prose and verse) :

*āat yimō iməm zəm vīšāvayaš aēva θrišva ahmat masye-
hīm yaθa para ahmāt as: tem iθra fračarenta pasvasča
staorāča mašyāča*

*hvaṇ anu uštīm zaošmča
yaθa kaθača hē zaošō.*

‘then Yima extended this earth a third larger than it was before; there over it did go forth both cattle and small beasts and men according to each one’s will and pleasure, even as one’s pleasure was.’

(The tradition renders *vīšāvayaš* by *sātūnīnūt* and *fračarenta* by *sātūt*.)

VI. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the imperfect and the perfect are by no means common in the Avesta. In the few passages of this category which do occur the original distinction between the two tenses seems to be observed.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 30. 4 :

*aēdē hyaṭ tū hēm mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē
gaēmēā aṣyāitīmēā yaθēdē aṇhaṭ apōmēm aṇhuš
aēišto drəgvatəm at ašūnē vahištəm manō.*

‘and then when the two spirits first came together, they have created both life and death and how the world shall be at the last, most evil for the wicked, but the Best Mind for the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *hēm jasaētəm* by *ham matō hōmand*, *ājagmasuḥ*.)

Ys. 32. 11 :

*taēciṭ mē mōrənḍen jyōtīm yōi drəgvatō mazibīš ēikōitərəš
anuhīšēā aṇhvasēā apayeiti račxananhō vaēdēm
yōi vahištāt ašūnō mazdā rārēšyān mananhō.*

‘these destroyed my life who have taught the wicked especially to rob house-holders, both women and men, of the attainment of their inheritance, that they may make the righteous apostate from the Best Mind.’

(The tradition renders *mōrənḍen* by *marenčinišnō yehabūd*, *vinācam dadate*, and *ēikōitərəš* by *kūšmēnd*, *ācārantī*.)

b. *Younger Avesta.*

Ys. 9. 5 (YAv. verse) :

*yimahe xšaθre aurvahe
nōiṭ aotəm ānha nōiṭ garēməm
nōiṭ zaurva ānha nōiṭ mərəθyus
nōiṭ araskō daēvō-dātō
panča-dasa fračarōiθe
pita puθrasča raoḍaēšva katarasēiṭ.*

‘in the reign of princely Yima there hath been neither cold nor heat, there hath been neither age nor death, nor disease created by the demons; father and son went forth fifteen years old each in figure.’

(The tradition renders *āsha* by *yehavūnt*, *āsīt*, and *fračarōiθe* by *frāz sātūnūt hōmand*, *pracaratah*. See also the parallel passage Yt. 15. 16.)

Yt. 13. 90 (YAv. prose):

*yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā nāim aoxta vīdōyūm ahurō-
tkašēm yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā nāim framraoṭ vīdōyūm
ahurō-tkašēm yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vīspəm daēvō-dātem
vavača ayesnyūm avahnyūm.*

‘who first of the material world spake the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world proclaimed the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world hath declared all (the world) created by the demons to be unworthy of worship or of prayer.’

(The perfect *vavača* is coordinated in this late passage to the imperfects *aoxta* and *framraoṭ*.)

VII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the perfect are extremely rare. A few examples, however, may be cited.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 34. 3 :

*aṭ tōi myazdēm ahurā nēmanhā ašūiēcā dāmā
gaēθt vīspā ā xšəθrōi yā volū θraošt ā manavhā
ārōi zī hūdθnhō vīspāiš mazdā xšməvasū savō.*

‘now unto thee, O Ahura and Asha, we are to offer with homage the oblation, (namely) all beings in the Kingdom which ye did nurture through the Good Mind, for the weal of the beneficent hath been fitting in all respects for those like unto thee, O Mazda.’

Ys. 44. 20 :

*ēiθənā mazdā huaxəθrā daēvā ānharō
aṭ it pərəsā yōi pišyeinti aēibyō kam
yāiš gam karapā usixšēcā aēšəmāi dāt ā
yāēcā kavā qnmənē urūdōyatā
nōit him mīzən ašū vāstrēm frādaišhē.*

‘have the demons been good rulers, O Mazda? Now this I ask : What (vengeance shall be) to those who oppress, through whom the Karap and the Usij did give the Cow unto Wrath,

and through whom the Kavi is a sinner forever, and not a man to prosper the pasture through Righteousness in watering it.'

(The strophe is obscure and the translation doubtful. The tradition renders *ñpharē* by *yehevūnt* *hōmand*, *abhavan* and *dātā* by *yehabūnt*.)

VIII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Pluperfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the pluperfect are excessively rare. A single example, which is not free from ambiguity, may be quoted.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 53. 1 :

vahištā īštiš srāvī zaraθuštrahē
spitāmahiṃ yezī hōi dāt āyaptā
aštā hačā ahurō mazdā yavōi vīspāi ā hvānhavīm
yāčē hōi dābən sašənčā duēnayē vānhuyē uxδā syaoθanāčā.

'the best wish is to be called Zarathushtra Spitāma's if Ahura Mazda in accordance with Righteousness is to give the boons, even a happy life for all eternity, to him and to those who did desire (?) and had become learned in the words and deeds of the good religion.'

IX. Sentences containing the Imperfect, the Aorist, and the Perfect.

The *Gāthās* furnish one example of an Avestan passage which contains the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 29. 1 :

xšmaibyā gəuš urvā gərəždā kahmāi mā θwarōždūm kē
mā tašač

ā mā ačšamō hazasčā rəmō āhišāyū dərəščā teriščā
nōit mōi vāstā xšmat anyō aθā mōi sastā vohū vāstryā.

'to you the Soul of the Kine did wail: For whom did ye create me, who shaped me? Wrath and Violence, Mutilation, and Outrage, and Power have bound me; no husbandman is there for me but you; so announce to me good pasturage.'

(The tradition renders *gərəždā* by *garzit*, *krandati*; *θwarōždūm* by *barehīnit* *hōmanam*, *avinirmīto* 'smi, and *tašač* by *tāšit* *hōmanam*, *ghaṭito* 'smi.)

The conclusion which I draw from the study of the syntax of the preterite tenses of the Avesta has already been shadowed forth. In the Gāthās the tenses retain their original significations unchanged, while the Younger Avesta shows a steady degeneration of feeling for the primary distinctions between the preterite tenses. The imperfect in the Gāthās is the tense of narration, as it is in the Younger Avesta. The aorist is not uncommon in the Gāthās, where it denotes an action or event occurring at some undetermined past time. It is found very seldom in the Younger Avesta, where it has become to all intents equivalent to the imperfect. The perfect in the Gāthās expresses the present result of a past action or event. It still retains this force in general in the Younger Avesta, although cases are not lacking, especially in late portions of the text, where the perfect, like the aorist, has degenerated into a mere narrative tense. The two points in which I differ most from results hitherto obtained are in regard to the pluperfect and to the medio-passive *in-i*. In my opinion the pluperfect expresses the result in the past of an action or event whose time was still more remote. In other words the pluperfect is a true preterite perfect, not a preterite present. I have suggested that the medio-passive *in-i* lost its aoristic force as early as the Iranian period and became equivalent to a simple preterite tense.¹

¹ For the transcription employed in this article, see the editorial note at the end of the volume.

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On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance.—

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I. THE LAW.

THE mediæval and modern practice of sitting in *dharma*, literally 'holding up' a defaulting debtor by preparing to commit suicide at his door, is familiar to English readers through Maine's account in the *Early History of Institutions*, p. 297 ff. The custom is more fully described by Leist in his *Jus Gentium*, p. 475 ff., a presentation based mainly on Jolly's article, *Das Indische Schuldbrecht* (the latter was published in the Sitz. d. phil. hist. Kl. d. Bair. Ak. d. W., 1877). These accounts refer to the legal aspect of suicide as a means of compelling payment,¹ and are based on provisions of the native codes of Mann and Brhaspati. Mann, circa 300–200 B. C., recognizes several means of getting a debt paid, and among them, viii. 49, is one called *ācarita* or 'the custom,' a word not further defined and in itself as indefinite as if one should say "One may compel payment *à la mode*."² Brhaspati, however, circa 500 A. D., says, xi. 58, that *ācarita* is a mode of exacting payment which consists either in seizing the debtor's wife, son, and cattle, or in "performing the door-sitting", *kṛtvā dvāropaveṣanam*. The puzzling thing about this definition is that it seems to imply suicide, whereas suicide by starvation has already been mentioned in the same author's list as one of the means called 'moral suasion,' (a category which includes also advice, remonstrance, and following about, *anugama*, 53 and 54).

Circa 400 B. C., in the law-book of Āpastamba i. 19. 1, the custom of besieging (a debtor) is recognized in the words "he who has entered upon" (sc. *prāya*, or death by starvation) and "he who is concerned in the sitting" (*pratīyupaviṣṭaḥ, yaḥ ca pratīyupaveṣane*), with a possible connection with the preceding word *ṛṇika*, 'debtor' (p. w.).

¹ The comparative side, treated by Maine and Leist, was first noticed by Stokes, who illustrated the practice again in The Academy, 12 Sept., 1885, p. 169. See also Tamassia, *Riv. scientifica del diritto*, 1897, p. 76 ff.

² The word is not confined to this application since it occurs of libations, offered "as is the custom," *ācaritatvam*, in Pār. Gṛh. Sūt. ii. 17. 18.

According to the later law, the suitor must be a Brahman priest (Jolly, p. 316), though nothing is said on this subject in the codes just cited.

II. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LAW.

So much by way of introduction. In the citation of legal works hitherto made by others no illustrations have been given of the ancient practice, but only the formal statutes appertaining to it. In the following pages I give some cases of various forms of suicide for redress from what may be called historical records. I do not mean that the cases are historical in reality, for they are only epic narratives and one of them is a fable. But they are older than the cases in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and are in so far historical as to reflect conditions which must have obtained when the two epics were composed. Their value lies in the fact that they represent not merely what is the rule according to the law-book, but what was regarded as customary. Incidentally these epic illustrations will show that *prāya* in the account of Brhaspati cannot be taken in the sense of *prārthanā*, begging or beseeching, as some of the native expositors think (Jolly, p. 314), but is the *prāya* of the regular practice called *prāyopaveśana*, or "entering upon death," *prāya* being here, as elsewhere, *exitus*, a wider term in this respect than *ācarita* in its meaning of "door-sitting," the latter, however, not being confined to this, but including any obstruction, as does *dharmā* to-day.

SUICIDE IN GENERAL.

According to Hindu law all forms of suicide are forbidden. Thus in Manu v. 89, and Yājñavalkya iii. 6, the *ātmatyāgin*, "self-abandoner," is one to whose spirit no oblations may be offered, or in the still stronger language of Apastamba, i. 28. 17, the "one killing himself," *ātmanam abhimanyamānaḥ*, is accursed, *abhiḡastak*, like a murderer. Similarly Gāutama, xiv. 12, and Vasiṣṭha, xxiii. 14, ff., who mention particularly as suicides thus accursed those who kill themselves by starvation, *prāya* (in its usual meaning, death by fasting), weapons, fire (wood, Vas-

¹ The practice of *dharmā* to-day includes not only "door-sitting" but also any form of obstruction, for example, obstructing a water-course. Fasting is not, therefore, a necessary concomitant of *dharmā*, though it is of "door-sitting," *dvāropaveśanam*.

iṣṭha), poison, water, hanging (or jumping, or earth-clods, or stones, these three in Vasiṣṭha alone). Although only the first of these is of special interest, I may add that the Hindu records show that with the exception of the two last, all these forms of suicide were generally recognized. Both epics have the same formula¹ for a woman contemplating suicide :

viṣam agnīm jalam rajjum āsthāsye tava kārṇāt

says Damayantī, 4, 4, and her cry of despair,

"Poison, fire, water, the rope, will I undergo for thy sake," is echoed in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 29. 21,

viṣam agnīm jalam vā 'ham āsthāsye mṛtyukāraṇāt

"Poison, fire, or water I will undergo for the sake of death;" while the latter epic adds "the rope" a little later, as if it were a customary mode of death : *sū tvam agnīm pravīṣa vā .. rajjum baddhvā 'tha vā kaṇṭhe*, R. ii. 74. 33, "Such (an evil woman art thou) do thou enter fire or bind the rope about thy neck."

So in R. iii. 45. 36 ff.: "If I be deprived of Rāma, I will enter the Godāvarī, or noose myself, or abandon my body on a cliff, or drink sharp poison, (or) enter fire, but never will I touch another man after Rāma."²

These forms are for women. Death (murder?) by drowning occurs in the case of Kahodā, who being defeated in argument, *vāde*, was drowned, *apsu nimajjitah*, by his opponent, M. iii. 132. 15, which I cite because it is possible that he drowned himself in despair. So Haṇsa and Īmbhaka drowned themselves in the Jumna for love of each other, M. ii. 14. 41 ff. The women, though more apt to burn themselves on the pyre of their husbands, commit suttee by drowning also. Their suttee by fire is amply illustrated in the following passages from both epics :

"A good woman, *sādhvī*, follows after her husband who has died before her," M. i. 74. 46.

¹ Without this form in M. xiv. 69. 9, *bhakṣayīṣye viṣam ghoram pravekṣye vā hutācanam*, "I will eat poison or enter fire."

² Here the scene is intensified as compared with the simple "I will enter fire" of G. 51. 29. Peculiar to B. I. c. is *ābandhīṣye* (sc. *rajjvā kaṇṭham*) without object. "Poison, hanging (here *udbandhana*), entering fire, fasting and sword," follow, as alternative forms. "Leaping from cliff-edges," R. v. 18. 33-34, is suggested as an appropriate means of death for a disconsolate hero and his wife and children.

"Thus speaking the queen mounted the fire-pile," M. i. 125. 31.

"What suttee (good) woman deprived of her husband could live?" Thus wailing the unhappy woman, true to her husband, entered the gleaming fire," M. xii. 148. 9-10.

These cases are from the Mahābhārata, which, however, in its older parts fully recognizes the survival of widows, cases of suttee being mentioned only in the later added books. The Rāmāyaṇa does not make the wife follow the husband,¹ but it alludes to the practice in ii. 66. 12:

*sā 'ham adyāi va 'diṣṭāntam gamiṣyāmi pativratā
idam carāram ālīṅgya pravekṣyāmi hutācanam.*

"Being true to my husband I will go to death to-day.

Embracing this body (of my husband) I will enter the fire."

Also in v. 26. 7: "Fie upon me un-Āryan, not suttee, *asatī*, since deprived of him I live even for a moment a life that is evil." The former passage is much expanded in the Bengal version, and the fact that no suttee takes place makes it probable that it was a conventional lament inserted after the completion of the first poem, as may be the case also with the actual suttee recorded in the first book of the other epic.² The good widows at the end of this latter epic (also a late addition) perform suttee by drowning themselves in the Ganges, xv. 38. 21 (*pativratāḥ sādhyah*). Manu, however, does not recognize any form of suttee.

But if these cases refer only to women, not less do men commit suicide as a sacred act. Thus as at Susa, Kalanos, B. C. 324, so in the Rāmāyaṇa iii. 5, the ascetic Ćarabhaṅga ends his life by burning himself and goes to heaven, though the general epic

¹ Sītā enters fire to prove her purity, but this is at the command of her husband. As she is the heroine, she comes out unscathed, R. vi. 116. 27 ff.

² The Rāmāyaṇa (perhaps late) is not lacking in passages which give the suttee sentiment. In a *prakṣipta*, Sugrīva's wife Rumā will die when he dies, and Tarā also will perish through sorrow for her husband, R. v. 13. 27; while Sītā says "better to die than live deprived of Rāma," ib. 26. 41, *creyo me jīvitān martum vihinā yā mahātmanā*. Cf. ib. 25, 26, 34. Another *prakṣipta* (apparently), viz. v. 28, makes Sītā, after saying that poison and weapons are lacking, prepare to hang herself with this remark: *udbaddhya venyudgrathanena cighram aham gamiṣyāmi Yamasya mūlam* (17). These, however, are merely sentimental outbursts, and Rāvaṇa uses the same speech when his brother is slain, *nanu me maraṇam creyah*, etc., vi. 68. 18; while Rāma in turn is supposed to die of grief for Sītā, v. 26. 36.

rule is that "a man who kills himself, *ātmahā pumān*, does not go to heaven," i. 179. 20.¹ But even the law-book which regards suicides as accursed provides that ascetics may end their lives by starvation, *Manu* vi. 31. Such contradictions are common in law and epic. They spring sometimes from the antithesis of code and usage, sometimes from the inculcation of a higher ideal, as when austerity is usually said to be a sign of saintly life, but at the same time we are informed that "one who injures his body is not devout," *ātmatantropaghātī yo na tapasvī na dharmavit*, *M.* xiii. 93. 4. We need not be surprised, therefore, to learn that, though one who commits suicide by *prāya* is formally "accursed," this practice is approved in law and practiced by epic characters.

SUICIDE BY STARVATION.

So we approach that peculiar kind of suicide which forms the subject of this paper, according to which the creditor sets out to starve himself to death to compel payment.

But before speaking of this in detail it will be well to illustrate the fact that the formal exitus, *prāya*, is by no means confined to such legal use, but it is of far wider application. As I wish to distinguish the different forms of *prāya*, or death by starvation, I shall call the most general the first form. The verbs with which this word *prāya* is construed are usually *ās*, *upa-ās*, 'sit,' *gam* or *ā-gam*, *upa-i* or (*prati-*) *upa-vig*, 'enter upon,' the meaning being 'sit to death,' or 'enter upon death' (by sitting without nourishment); while *upa-vig* alone means 'fast upon.'

1. *Prāya* is suicide by starvation, undertaken without intent to harm and because of sorrow, or despair.

To this category belong the cases where heroes overcome in battle and no longer able to fight devote themselves to death to gain heaven. As this is considered a religious exercise, so it is in reality identical with the completion of philosophic Yoga, and is indeed called by the same name. The great saint sits in Yoga abstraction renouncing food till he dies, his object being merely to attain salvation. This is exactly what the warrior does in the following cases, where the soldier is at the same time more or less of a sainted character (*guru*):

¹ The female ascetic Çabarī also "burns herself (alive) and goes to heaven," in *R.* iii. 74. 32-33 (*hutvā 'tmānam hutāçane*).

In M. vii. 198. 29-31, Bhūriṣṭas sits silent, *muniḥ*, on the field of battle, having 'entered upon *prāya*,' *prāyagataḥ*, devoting himself to death. In this state he "withdraws his breath" and meditates upon holy texts, fixing his eye upon the sun, desirous of going to the Brahma-world. In other words he acts just like a Yogin, and the terms used of his act are indifferently *yogayuktaḥ* (*abhavan muniḥ*) and *prāyagataḥ* or *prāyam upāviṣat* (above and ib. 143. 33-35).

So in vii. 192. 46, Yoga is used of another hero who dies in the same way, sitting in his chariot, distressed because of his son's reported death. This man too is said to be *prāyagataḥ* as well as *yogam iyivān*, "entered *prāya*" or "entered *yoga*," vi. 43. 65-66. It is rather characteristic of the late seventh book that nowhere in the earlier epic is such an action called entering Yoga, and undoubtedly it was at first merely starvation or dying, without the element of mysticism given by the abstraction and prayerful attitude of the saint.

The same cause, slightly modified by failure, the sense of duty unfulfilled, and the fear of a worse death, leads the warriors in R. iv. 57. 18, to say "through fear we sit to death," *bhayāt prāyam upāstāh*.¹ The cause of *prāya* is given in R. iv. 55. 11, as the fear of imprisonment, "than which *prāyopaveṣana* is better," and in iv. 53. 12-13, in other words: "We must die now, for we have failed in our attempt (and fear to go back to the king), and hence to enter upon death, *prāyapaveṣana*, is proper for us," for "we have not accomplished what we ought."²

It is clear that such cases of *prāya* or death by starvation involve no legal point and are only by accident, so to speak, cases of *prāya*. That is to say it would make no difference whether the characters here chose *prāya* or any other of the modes of suicide mentioned above. Their action is merely on a par with that of suicides by burning or drowning, which indeed are presented as normal alternatives. Thus in R. v. 13. 38 ff.: "If I

¹ In the corresponding account at G. iv. 56. 24 and 57. 23, the simple verb is used, *prāyam āsyate, āsmahe*. The *résumé* in R. v. 35. 60 has *prāyam upāsmāhe* and *prāyopaviṣtāh*, with *prāyopaveṣa* (sic) in 63.

² *na kṛtaḥ kāryam*, R. iv. 56. 8. At the end of R. iv. 55. 17 and 20, in preparing for this ceremony those intending to die touch water and lie on holy *darbha* grass (the ends of the grass pointed south), with their faces to the east. The verb here is *upa-viṣ* (and *sam-upa-viṣ*).

fail in my attempt, I will become a hermit, or raising a pyre enter the fire, or birds and jackals may eat my body *after I have died of starvation in the proper way*,¹ or, for this too is a means of death recognized by the seers, I will drown myself." And so Prince Duryodhana says: "If I see these (rivals) here again I will dry myself up without water, without opposition (?); poison, hanging, the sword, entrance into fire, will I inflict upon myself, for I cannot see them successful again," M. iii. 7. 5.²

Between this general form of suicide by *prāya* and that to be mentioned next there is one which differs merely in respect of the cause assigned. As it is rather interesting, however, to see how the different cases lead up to the suicide with deadly motive (which is the legal form), I will separate the closely allied examples that follow.

2. *Prāya* is suicide by starvation, undertaken without intent to harm, but because of disgrace inflicted.

That is here accomplished which in the "death for sorrow" and "death because of fear" in the last paragraph was anticipated. It is perhaps scarcely worth while to differentiate these cases, but they are one step nearer to the legal *prāya*, in that the cases under 1 are merely the result of sorrow or fear, while in both this and the legal case an insult or injury has actually been inflicted. The suicide is not only unhappy; his honor has been affected.

Under this head comes the second threat (not fully carried out) of the same prince, Duryodhana, mentioned above, who in the Mahābhārata iii. 249. 11, 20 ff., says that he has been dishonored and will "sit to death" *prāyam upāsisye*. He then touches water, sits down upon *darbha*, sacrificial grass, and clothed in rags, and silent, collecting his thoughts, prepares to die of starvation; though his friends attempt to dissuade him by telling him

¹ cl. 40, *upaviṣṭasya vā samyak*, without *prāyam*, showing a purely technical use of *upa-ṣiṣ* as in the law-books and in the verse cited above from the other epic. The alternate text, 15. 56, has *praviṣṭasya* (still of the pyre).

² *punaḥ ṣaṣaṁ gamiṣyāmi nīrambur nīravagrahaḥ, viṣaṁ udbandhanam caiva castram agnīpraveṇanam kariṣye*. The commentator gives a var. lec. *vāraṇo vā navagrahaḥ* (*vā* as often for *iva*). Compare with this scene, ii. 47. 31; also 52. 41. With the varied reading the verse means "I will dry myself up (starve myself) like an elephant newly caught," a familiar image of grief, e. g. in R. ii. 58. 3.

that he is foolish and that "a suicide goes to hell," (251. 19; 252. 2, *kasmāt prāyopaveṣanam ātmatyāgī hy adhoyāti*).¹

It may, however, be thought that there is in this case an ulterior though hidden object of revenge (the legal notion) in the act of *prāya*, affecting those who had disgraced the would-be suicide. Nothing of the sort appears in the tale, and that this is not a necessary concomitant may be seen on comparing the case in the tale of the tiger and the jackal. The jackal is minister to his king the tiger, and has been disgraced without reason. Although the king discovers the mistake and wishes to reinstate the minister, the latter feels the disgrace so keenly that he persists in his design, "begs to sit to death, being grieved by the anger" (of the king), and "having sat to death, went to heaven."² Here it is clear that if the minister's intent was to harm the king he would not first have asked permission of his intended victim.³

3. *Prāya* is undertaken as a self-inflicted punishment by one conscious of having sinned. Remorse instigates the act, but there is an additional notion that death will be an expiation. I have but one illustration, which shows that fear of punishment hereafter is the motive. In M. xii. 27. 23 ff., a king says: "Sinner that I am, *āgaskaraḥ pāpaḥ*, I will sit, *āśīnaḥ*, here and dry up my body. Know that I have now entered death (*prāya-upaviṣṭaḥ*) in order that I may not be born in other births, a destroyer of family. I will not eat, I will not take water, I will stay here and dry up my dear life."⁴ In the next example we come nearer to the legal aspect of the case, when suicide has an immediate motive, but still without intent to harm.

4. *Prāya* is undertaken from despair without intent to harm, but with intent to compel another to do one's will.

¹ The first reason given is that as the cause is insufficient he makes himself ridiculous: 250. 12, *prāyopaviṣṭas tu nṛpa rājñān hāsyo bhaviṣyasi*. In 249. 41, *upā-sthā* is used, *tvayi prāyam upāsthite*. Compare *prāyam upāsmāhe*, G. v. 32. 23.

² In regard to the spiritual reward, it is declared in M. xiii. 7. 16, that a *prāyopaveṣin* "always obtains bliss," *prāyopaveṣino rājan sarvatra sukham ucyate*, "just as one who lives on grass alone goes to heaven," said here of ascetic devotion.

³ The text is found in M. xii. 111. 73 and 90: *tenā'marṣeṇa saṁtaptāḥ prāyam āsitum āicchata* and *gomāyukḥ prāyam āsthāya tyaktvā dehaṁ divaṁ yayāu*.

⁴ *jātiṣv anyāsv api yathā na bhaveyam kulāntakṛt, ṣoṣayiṣye priyān prāṇān ihaṣtho 'ham*.

Illustrations are furnished at the close of the great epic war. Drāupadī thus devotes herself to death in despair and sorrow for the sake of urging her various husbands to do an act equivalent to taking a reprisal. The epic alludes to this in advance as "fasting upon her husbands," literally "besieging her husbands," where it is perhaps implied that if they suffer the queen to die they will reap the usual consequences. She continues in this state, *prāyopeta*, x. 16. 22, till the deed that she demands shall be done is actually accomplished. In entering into the *prāya* state she uses the formula

ihāi 'va prāyam āsisye, x. 11. 15,

"Here will I sit to death," which I call a formula because it is employed in the same words elsewhere in this epic and also in the Rāmāyaṇa, iv. 53. 19. Here is to be noticed the fact that in the preliminary in the Mahābhārata the word *prāya* is not used, but *upa-viṣ*, the verb (sitting against or besieging), governs the accusative in the technical sense of fasting upon (compare *upa-viṣṭa* as used above). This reference occurs in i. 2. 304, *kṛtāna-ganasanīkalpā yatra bhartīn upāviṣat*, "what time she, resolved upon not eating, besieged her husbands."¹

A similar case occurs in xiv. 80. 17 and 40-41, where the queen betakes herself to *prāya* with the intent to persuade a favor which shall relieve her of her grief. She is accompanied in her devotion by one of her sons, who seems to "sit to death" merely through grief and despair. The queen says: "Here will I sit to death in your presence, overwhelmed with woe at being deprived of husband and a son" (unless you restore them to life). She uses the words given above, *ihāi 'va prāyam āsisye*, and then "sitting down became silent," *upāsīnā tūṣṇīm āsit*, which may perhaps be translated better in the technical sense "besieging became silent." Her son "touches water and becomes silent," when *prāyopetaḥ*, or *prāyopaviṣṭaḥ*, that is "when entering upon *prāya*." No threat of harm is here made, but, as above, may be implied. It is assumed in both these cases that it is perfectly natural for a woman thus to enter *prāya*, and it is in fact the same situation as that described in the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 47.

¹ In xii. 116. 10, *upaviṣṭa* is used of a saint not in *prāya* but simply fasting. The same word is current also in its literal sense of 'taking a seat' without any such connotation.

8-9, where the queen says: "If Rāma is consecrated (against my will and thy promise) I shall not eat, nor sleep, nor drink, from this day on forever, and this will be the end of my life." In R. ii. 11. 21 (compare 9. 59 ff.) this is represented as being a threat of death because of the disgrace attaching to the queen if her husband breaks his promise to her: "despised by thee, I will die to-day"; ib. 12. 47, "I will drink poison in thy presence."

There is of course no hard and fast line between these divisions. The sum of them is that an aggrieved or wretched or guilt-conscious person, whether man or woman, threatens to commit suicide by *prāya* as by other means with the intent to force another to do a certain thing, or, more rarely, simply to escape greater ill or atone for his sin. The former case brings us nearest to the legal aspect, where *prāya* is a means of compulsion.

This kind of *prāya* is found also in Buddhistic narratives. Thus Tissa and Ratthapāla both abstain from food to get what they want, as narrated in the Vāta-miga Jātaka and Ratthapāla Sutta. But on this side I lack fuller information, the illustration in this paper being drawn chiefly from the epics, where I believe they are complete.

5. *Prāya* is undertaken by a suppliant, but it is accompanied with a threat to the effect that if the object of desire is not granted vengeance will be taken. The motive here is to excite pity, which failing, recourse is had to force.

This is illustrated by Rāma lying on sacred grass in *prāya*, but at the same time threatening the (god of) ocean, which in the Mahābhārata version is sufficient, but in the Rāmāyaṇa the threat is carried out with an absurd account of an attack on Ocean.¹ Here it is to be observed that the suppliant is not a priest but a warrior. The threat, however, and actual attack on the ocean-god is an epic (heroic) equivalent of the distraint which goes with the 'door-sitting.'

6. *Prāya* is undertaken by a suppliant, but is accompanied with the threat that if the object of desire be denied the one who rejects the suppliant will go to hell.

This is quite in accord with the view of the law-books, where the implication is clearly that the person who permits the suicide

¹ M. iii. 288. 30 ff., *pratiṣṣyāmy upavasan .. upaspr̥ṣya pratiṣṣye jalanidhīm vidhivat kuṣasamstare*; R., vi. 19. 41 *kuṣāstīrṇe samviveṣa ..* 21. 1, *pratiṣṣye*.

to be carried out will suffer for it hereafter. As said above, this threat may be implied in some of the preceding cases, though there is only one explicit example of this sort known to me in epic poetry. But here too it is not a priest who threatens.

In Rāmāyaṇa ii. 21. 27-28, the queen says to her son: "If thou abandonest me, my son, I will sit to death, being unable to live, and then thou shalt go to the hell world-renowned" (known to be in store for such as slay by refusing to grant requests in such circumstances).¹

7. *Prāya*, further (but here the word is only implied), is undertaken at the door of the house, the suppliant sitting on sacred *kuṣa*-grass, with intent to compel submission, as in the law-books. But no violence is used, and there is no suggestion that the one affected will suffer hereafter. It is expressly said that this recourse is fitting only for a priest, and the situation is likened to that caused by a "priest robbed of his money." The only example is in R. ii. 111. 14-17, where Rāma's brother attempts to persuade him to return home, and to do so strews *kuṣa*-grass before the door of the hut, takes up his position there, and says:

"I will besiege (beseech) the prince until he grants me his favor.

"Without food, not averting my eyes, like a priest that has been robbed of his possessions,

"I will lie before his hut until he (yields or) returns home."

To which the prince replies: "Why wilt thou besiege me? For only a Brahman (priest) has a right to obstruct men, and the observance in regard to besieging is not for annointed (kings)."²

¹ *aham prāyam ihā'siṣye .. tatas tvam prāpsyase putra nirayam loka-viṣrutam brahmahatyām ivā 'dharmāt samudraḥ saritām patiḥ*. The last words refer to some Puranic legend (according to the commentator) which narrates that Ocean was once cursed by Pippalāda because of impiety to his mother. Ocean is cursed in M. xiii. 154. 7: "Once Ocean was cursed by the Brahmans and though at that time full of fresh water, became salty." The reference in the text cited, however, would imply that Ocean was cursed to suffer the penalty of killing a priest, though the Commentator says "he received grief equivalent to the punishment of going to hell." The alternate text, G. ii. 18. 31, has *brahmaçāpam ivā 'kasmāt*, "received suddenly the Brahman curse."

² *āryam pratyupavekṣyāmi yāvan me (v. l. na for sam) samprasīdati, nirāhāro nirāloko dhanahīno yathā dvijaḥ, çaye purastāt chālāyām yāvan mām (v. l. na) pratiyāsyati: kim mām ... pratyupavekṣyase,*

So far as I know this is the only case where the verb "obstruct," *rodhati* in technical application, occurs in epic accounts (the legal *gr̥ha-samirodha*), though it is interesting to see that *samirodha* is in ordinary epic parlance applied to obstruction of food, *āhārasamirodha*, R. iv. 59. 11.

These examples show that the full practice of the law in respect of *dharna* was recognized. The one who rejects a suppliant and compels him to kill himself, goes to hell. The only one who has a right to exercise constraint of this sort is a priest. Clearly then the practice of door-besieging is a restriction for a special cause of a practice once recognized as universal, suicide with especial intent to compel the victim of the practice to yield under pain of future punishment after death, which in turn is but one application of the still more general practice of suicide without intent to harm in cases of despair and disgrace.

Both of these practices survive in India, under the respective names of *traga*, that is suicide simply as a self-inflicted punishment for disgrace or failure to carry out what has been solemnly agreed to, and *dharna* (= *dharana*), literally a holding, capio, or in English slang a "hold up," which is restricted to a priest, and as already stated may be any form of obstruction, like obstructing the door or obstructing a water-course. These two are sometimes merged, as in the case which I reported in my *Religions of India*, p. 480, as occurring the year this book was written, 1894. The man who had made himself responsible for a payment, on finding that the debtor would not pay, to expiate the disgrace slew his own mother in the presence of the defaulter, who in turn as his only expiation slew himself. On page 361 of the same work I have expressed a doubt as to whether the "door-sitting" was a very ancient practice. I presume I meant recognized in ancient tales as well as law, an observation which I herewith beg leave to cancel.

In modern times, as has been noticed by Professor Jolly in his excellent manual on Hindu Law and Custom, a looser form of *dharna*, known in South India as *takāzā*, permits the creditor to institute by proxy a regular siege of the debtor's house. Here

brāhmaṇo hy ekapārṣvena narān roddhum ihā 'rhati (v. l. *gayānas tu purāṇ dahet*!), *na tu mūrdhābhiṣiktānān vidhīḥ pratyupavechane*. As to the v. l. with the unnecessary *na* in G. after *yāvat*, the similar formula in G. ii. 8. 58 (corresponding to 9. 59, above) has *nā 'lakṣkārān na bhojanam āseviṣye hy aham tāvad yāvad Rāmo vanan vrajet*.

the creditor, instead of acting for himself, hires a band of ruffians to obstruct, besiege, annoy, and threaten the life of the debtor. Some premonition of this substitution is found in the interpretation by a mediæval commentary of Nārada's law—which, i. 122, on this subject coincides with Manu's law—whereby a son or slave may act for the creditor. The Southern *takāzā* is of course without any religious significance, for the debtor is simply bulldozed into paying. Professor Pischel has noticed, moreover, one other interesting phase of moral compulsion as a means of recovering debts, namely the 'charmed circle,' which in dramatic literature is drawn about a man who will not pay his gambling debts and out of which he may not step till he has settled (cited by Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 148).

As to the ancient practice, the universal use of *prāya* in the technical sense exemplified above and the restricted observance of "door-sitting" removes all doubt as to Bṛhaspati's rule. Anyone may sit in *prāya* as a means of compulsion; the *ācarita* is a special case appertaining to a priest who alone may obstruct, to kill whom is peculiarly heinous even by letting him starve, while his immunity from active murder (which was out of the question) gave him safety when engaged in distraint of cattle, etc. The one 'obstructed' was of course himself obliged to starve with the starving creditor, so that the practice, as far as fasting went, resolved itself into a sort of stomach-duel. The restriction to a priest must have been in the minds of the legal writers, as it is expressed as a matter of course in the epic.

It is interesting to find in the epic the explicit statement (lacking in the early law-books) that door-sitting was not permitted against "consecrated kings," whereas, according to the ancient laws of Ireland, quoted by Maine, *op. cit.* p. 280, the creditor might distrain without fasting in the case of a debtor "not of chieftain grade," but in the case of a chieftain it was necessary to "fast upon him."

Finally, to these oldest literary illustrations of the law I will add the oldest reference to the practice known to me in Hindu literature. Since the custom of constraining by suicide appears to be even Indo-European, it may indeed seem unimportant to track it back as far as possible in Hindu literature. Yet, since, on the other hand, there is always a lurking doubt as to whether a custom which is found among several related peoples be not self-developed in each rather than inherited by all, it may not be

unprofitable to note a trace of this sort of fasting in Vedic literature that is considerably older than either law or epic. Such a trace is to be found in the Kāṇṣitaki Upanishad of the Rig Veda, one of the five oldest philosophical dialogues that we possess (circa 700-600 B. C.). Here, as a simile in a metaphysical discussion, is introduced a case: "As if one, after begging a village and getting nothing, should fast (on the village) saying 'I would not eat now even if (the village) should give,' and then those same (villagers) who previously should repulse him come and urge him saying 'Permit us to give to thee.'" It is even possible to translate the first clause "after begging and getting nothing, should fast on the village."¹

The reason for the suddenly insistent generosity pictured here can be only that the villagers fear that the beggar will starve himself to death out of revenge, and that they will suffer the usual consequences of the *prāyopaveṣana*. This takes the custom back to at least the close of the Vedic period in India, a date earlier by several centuries, I think, than that of any allusion to the practice previously noticed.²

¹ The word used is the same as in the expression I have cited above from the epic (*bhartṛn upāviṣat*). It is not material, however, whether we translate "fasts on the village" or "after begging a village should sit down (in *prāya*) saying 'I would not eat,'" since the following words and the result of the act show that *prāyopaveṣana* is intended. The text is: *yathā grāmam bhikṣitvā 'labdhvo 'paviṣen nā 'ham ato dattam aṇṇīyam iti ya evāi 'nam purastāt pratyācakṣiraṇs ta evāi 'nam upa-mantrayante dadāma ta iti*, Kāuṣ. ii. 1.

² So far as I have been able to ascertain, the practice of door-sitting to obtain payment of a debt is not found in China, but starvation to compel one to grant a desire is practiced there, and suicide (by knife) on the doorstep, either with the same purpose or to insure a curse upon the householder, is not infrequent. Under cases of Suicide in General, I have neglected above to give any early examples of suicide by leaping from a cliff, but this was always a favorite mode of dying (for love, as early as Rig Veda, X. 95. 14).

The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. First Series. The Religion according to the Inscriptions.—By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University, New York City. With an Appendix by Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY.¹

IN one of the most striking passages of Isaiah, the Lord God Jehovah speaks 'to His Anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped,' saying, 'I myself will go before thee; ways will I make level, Doors of bronze will I break in pieces, and bars of iron cut asunder; And I will give thee the treasures of darkness and the hoards of secret places; for it is I, JHVH, who calls thee by thy name, I, the God of Israel. For the sake of Jacob, my Servant, and Israel, my Chosen, I called thee by thy name, I took delight in thee though thou knewest me not' (Is. 45. 2-4, Cheyne's translation). This is Cyrus the Great, Cyrus the hero of Xenophon's ideal Greek romance, Cyrus the Persian king whose name is still honored after the lapse of centuries.

But what was the creed of this 'friend of JHVH' (Is. 44. 28), and what was the faith of those Achaemenian rulers, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, whose names are known to history? This question is one of interest and of importance alike to Biblical students and to students of the faith of Ancient Iran; for it was less than a century before the Babylonian Captivity and the coming of Cyrus, that the great teacher Zoroaster arose as the prophet of Ormazd and with ringing voice exhorted men to eschew evil and to choose the good. The significance as well as the interest which this problem of the religion of the Achaemenian kings has for the investigator, is shown by the number of studies which have already been made upon it. The present research is undertaken not with the expectation of making clear all points connected with the Achaemenian faith, nor with the idea of determining whether the Achaemenidae were true Zoro-

¹ I am particularly glad to have the opportunity of acknowledging the kind contribution of my pupil and friend, Dr. Louis H. Gray, whom I thank for his work in the Appendix on the Non-Iranian Inscriptions, and for his ready help in other matters of detail connected with the article.—A. V. W. J.

astrians or not; but the investigation is made with an eye to bringing together the material relating to the Achaemenian creed as fully as possible, and with a hope that perhaps some hints may be given to students with regard to the relation of the Ancient Persian kings to Zoroastrianism. A partial bibliographical list of studies in the field of the Achaemenian religion is given below.¹

The discussion of the subject and the evidence which we possess concerning the religion of the Achaemenidae will be presented in the following order:

SYNOPSIS OF THE TREATMENT.

- A. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to the Old Persian Inscriptions.
 - a. Introduction.
 - b. Auramazda or the God of the Old Persian Inscriptions.
 - c. The *Bagas* or Other Gods beside Auramazda.
 - d. Mithra and Anāhita.
 - e. Foy's Conjecture of Arštāt(?).
 - f. Evil recognized as a Principle in the Old Persian Inscriptions.
 - g. The Right Path.
 - h. The Commandment of Auramazda and the Law.
 - i. Religious Observance and Places of Worship.
 - j. Summary.
- B. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to their non-Iranian Inscriptions.

See the Appendix, pp. 177 ff.
- C. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to Classical Allusions.

¹ Partial Bibliography (arranged alphabetically): Bang, *ZDMG.* xliii. 533, 674; *Muséon*, viii. 393; *Mélanges C. de Harlez*, p. 11.—Casartelli, *Compte rendu du 3^me Congrès scientifique international des Catholiques*, i. 35-45.—Foy, *KZ.* xxiv. 63 ff.; *ZDMG.* liv. 341 ff.—Halévy, *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* i. 17-19.—de Harlez, *Rev. de l'instruct. publ. en Belg.* xxxviii. 4-15.—Horn, *Waren die alten Perser Zoroastrier?* in *Beilage zur Allg. Zeit. München*, 1895, Nr. 206, 171.—de Longperier et Roger, *9. Cong. Intern. Orient.* ii. 319-322.—Mills, *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. pp. 30-32.—Moulton, *The Thinker*, i. 401-408; ii. 308-315, 490-501.—Spiegel, *ZDMG.* ix. 183; *Érân. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 189-191; and *ZDMG.* lii. 187-196; Tiele, *Mél. C. de Harlez*, pp. 307-312.—Vinson, *Religion des Perses de Darius, de Xerxès, Les Mages, Zoroastre.* Phare de la Loire, le 21 Mars 1881, et *Rev. de Ling.* xiv.—E. Wilhelm, *ZDMG.* xl. 105. The names of other contributors to the subject and the titles of their articles will be mentioned in the course of the paper.

D. The Religion of the later Achaemenians according to Allusions in the Pahlavi Literature and in the Shāh Nāmāh.

E. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to Other Oriental Sources.

The latter three topics will be treated in a following series, and a general discussion of the entire subject will then be given. The present paper is confined to divisions A and B.

A. THE RELIGION OF THE ACHAEMENIANS ACCORDING TO THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

a. Introduction.

‘A great god is Auramazda who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created peace for man, who made Darius king’ (*baga vazraka Auramazdā hya imām bumīm adā hya avam asmānam adā hya martīyam adā hya šiyātīm adā martīyahyā hya Dārayavaum xšāyabīyam akunauš*, NR. a. 1-8; Elv. 1-8; Sz. c. 1-4); or again, ‘Auramazda the great, who is the greatest of the gods, it was he who made Darius king, it was he who gave to him the kingdom, by the grace of Auramazda Darius is king’ (*Auramazdā vazraka hya maθišta bagānām hauv Dārayavaum xšāyabīyam adadā haušaiy xšaθ’am frābara vašnā Auramazdāhā Dārayavauš xšāyabīya*, Dar. Pers. d. 1-5)—these are the lines which ring clearly with the note of fervent piety and zealous devotion, or the chord which the ancient Persian monarch Darius never tired of striking. Never was there a sovereign who felt himself more to be king by divine right, a truer *Rex Dei Gratia*, than did this Achaemenian ruler. ‘By the grace of Auramazda I am king; Auramazda brought the kingdom to me’ (*vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyabīya amīy Auramazdā xšaθ’am manā frābara*, Bh. i. 11-12)—‘Auramazda bore aid unto me until this kingdom was held firm; by the grace of Auramazda I hold this kingdom firm’ (*Auramazdāmaiyy upastām abara yūtā ima xšaθ’am adāry vašnā Auramazdāha ima xšaθ’am dārayāmīy*,—Bh. i. 24-26). In every crisis and in every battle ‘Auramazda bore aid’ to Darius (Bh. i. 55, 87, etc. etc.), put his enemies to confusion, or ‘delivered them over into his hand’ (*pasāva diš Auramazdā manā dastayā akunauš*, Bh. 4. 35); every battle was won ‘by the grace of Auramazda’ (Bh. i. 94; 2. 25, etc.); and in his final summing up of his achievements, it is to the

grace of God that he ascribes all his success: 'that which I did, I did in every way by the grace of Auramazda' (*ima tya adam akunavam hamahyāyā θarda vašnā Auramazdāha akunavam*, Bh. 4. 59-60). So often does Darius take pains to attribute his success to the grace of Auramazda that we are tempted to stop and count the occurrences of the 'Dei Gratiā' phrase, and we find that *vašnā Auramazdāha* occurs no less than 34 times in the columns of the great Behistān inscription alone; and within the compass of the same 420 lines, or so, the name of *Auramazdā* is called upon fully 69 different times. The rock-records, therefore, bear evidence enough that Darius was a god-fearing king and upheld that standard to his people. The tone still echoes in the short and unimportant inscriptions of Xerxes and of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus, but it seems to have lost the clear ring of the voice of the earlier monarch and to have become more or less formulaic. Still there is no question that these sovereigns were worshippers of Ormazd whatever question there may be as to their individual views, leanings, or tenets. The entire matter of the religion of the Achaemenians as set forth in the inscriptions of Behistān, Persepolis, and elsewhere, has been excellently treated in an article already referred to on p. 161, n. 1; it is by Professor L. C. Casartelli, *La Religion des Rois Achéménides d'après leurs Inscriptions*, (Compte rendu du 3^me Congrès Scientifique international des Catholiques tenu à Bruxelles, Septembre 1894, pp. 1-13—Bruxelles 1895). In this study Casartelli gathers together all that is said in the Old Persian Inscriptions concerning the faith of their princely authors. As my own plan includes a treatment of the religion of the Achaemenians from all the sources accessible, in addition to the Inscriptions, I must in this First Series necessarily go over this particular part of the subject again, which he has already covered. But as my results have been reached independently, I know that no one will more gladly welcome them, as agreeing in the main with his own, than the successor of Mgr. de Harlez.

(b.) *Auramazda* or the God of the Old Persian Inscriptions.

Auramazdā vazraka hya maθišta bagānām, or again, *baga vazraka Auramazdā*, are the lines that give the name and attributes of the Supreme Being of the Ancient Persian kings. The name *Auramazda*, or Ormazd, is the same as *Ahura Mazda* in the Avesta, and it signifies 'the Lord Wisdom,' 'Sovereign

Knowledge." In the Avesta the name of the divinity is always written as two distinct words, each declined independently and often separated or sometimes used alone. In the Gāthās or oldest metrical hymns of the Avesta the two parts of the divine name are frequently separated by several intervening words, or even a line. In these ancient Zoroastrian Psalms, moreover, the arrangement of the two words as *Mazda . . . Ahura* is three times as common as *Ahura . . . Mazda*.² As for the Achaemenian Inscriptions themselves, there is only one instance in which we find the parts of the name divided and separately declined. The instance is on a monument of Xerxes, and therefore later than Darius; it is Xerx. Pers. ca[cb]. 17, *vašnā Aurahya Mazdāha*. There is likewise only a single example of the use of *aura-* alone; this time, however, it is actually employed in one of the shorter inscriptions of Darius himself. The occurrence is found in Dar. Pers. e. 23-24, *šiyātiš . . . Aurū nirasātiy* 'Peace shall descend from Aura.' So much for the divine name Auramazda.

The designation *baga*, the linguistic cognates of which in other languages may be compared, is employed in the Old Persian Inscriptions as the generic term for 'god' and its use is comparatively frequent. In the Avesta, however, the occurrences of the word are relatively infrequent; but at least two of the instances which are found in that sacred book are employed with reference to Ormazd (Ys. 10. 10; 70. 1).³ In the Inscriptions, Auramazda is called *maθišta bagānām* (Dar. Pers. d. 1; Xerx. Elv. 2; Xerx. Van 2) or 'the greatest or supreme of the gods'; in the Avesta Mithra is 'the very wisest of the gods,' *baγanəm asti aš.xraθ-wastəmō* (Yt. 10. 141) and in Yt. 10. 1 Mithra is spoken of as

¹ Cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 632.

² For statistics see West, *JRAS.* xxii. 508 ff. (1890), and Tiele, *Iets over de Oudheid van het Avesta*, p. 16 (in the *Mededeelingen d. K. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, Afd. Let. 3de Reeks, Deel xi. p. 380, Amsterdam, 1895). Cf. also Casartelli, *La Religione*, pp. 37-38.

³ For the other instances of *baga* see Justi, *Hdb. der Zendsprache* s. v. *baga*, *bayōdāta*, and (?) *hubaya*. As regards plurality, the plural *baγanəm* occurs only in Yt. 10. 141 in the Avesta, as mentioned above, but we find the plural *bayān*, *bakān* in Pahlavi, e. g. Sg. 4. 7. 29; Dk. 8. 15. 1 (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 128, 130-131; xxxvii. 34). In this last passage we are informed first of 'the worship of Aūharmazd, the highest of divinities (*bakān*)'—a phrase very similar to the one employed by Darius—and, secondly, we learn of 'the worship of the angels.'

but little lower than Ahura Mazda himself. The phrase even recalls the words of the Psalmist extolling the Lord as 'exalted far above all gods' (Ps. 97. 9; cf. also Ex. 15. 11; 18. 11; Deut. 10. 17; Ps. 82. 1; 95. 3; 97. 7, and notice C. de Harlez, *La Religion persane* p. 6).

The attribute *vazraka* 'mighty, great,' as well as *maθišta* 'supreme, greatest' manifest the belief in the sovereign power and exalted majesty of Auramazda; he is the great god, the highest of the gods, just as Darius himself is 'the great king, the king of kings' (*xšāyaθiya vazraka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*, Bh. I. 1 et passim). The supreme power and divine omnipotence of Auramazda is sufficiently evidenced in the triumphs which he gives to his chosen Darius, who is as much the favored one of Ormazd as is Aśoka 'the Beloved of the Gods' in India; but it is equally manifested in what he divinely causes to be done through the king's agency.¹ Darius proudly proclaims that when Auramazda 'saw this earth in dire confusion he brought her unto me' (*yaθū avaina imām bumim yudiyā (?) pasīvadim manā frābara*, NR. a. 32, cf. also Casartelli, *La Religion*, p. 39) and the king firmly believes that he was chosen to carry out the sacred mission because he was a just king and not a sinner.²

Above all functions assigned to the godhead is that of the creative faculty. Ahuramazda 'created' (*adā*) the earth, the heaven, mankind, and all the blessings that are vouchsafed to man. The sentence from the inscriptions referring to Auramazda's creative power has been quoted in full above; it is similar to the glorification of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta as the one 'who created the cow and righteousness; who created the good waters and plants; who created light, earth and all good things' (*yē gəmcē ašmēcē dāt apascē dāt urvarāscē vərəuhē rāocāscē dāt bāmimēcē vīspācē vohū*, Ys. 37. 1). Compare also the noble Gāthā passage on creation, Ys. 44. 3-5, also Ys. 57. 17, as well as the standing epithet *dātar* 'creator' in the formulaic Avestan address to the deity. This emphasis of the idea of Ormazd's creative activity is a cardinal tenet of the whole Iranian faith; it is repeated not only in the single shorter inscriptions of Darius but it is retained as a hallowed formula in the tablets of Xerxes and of Artaxerxes Ochus. With regard to the

¹ The idea is implied in Bh. 4. 50-52; I. 12, etc.; NR. a. 32.

² Compare the thought in Bh. 4. 61-67.

idea of creation itself, nothing is said to show that the creation is a bringing forth *ex nihilo*, but the root $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}$ - in the inscriptions is used only of Auramazda among all divinities,¹ and I have touched elsewhere upon the possibility of the idea.²

While dealing with the formula in which Auramazda is spoken of as the one 'who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man' (see above), we must emphasize its closing words, 'who created peace for man'—*hya šiyātīm adī martiya-hyā*. The word *šiyāti* denotes repose, quiet, blessing, prosperity, joy, peace, like its Avestan cognate *šaiti* (see especially Vd. I. 1) and like the root $\sqrt{š\bar{a}}$ - and its kindred, New Pers. *šād* etc. The employment of the word, as Casartelli, p. 41, hints, may possibly contain an echo of the felicity of man in the golden age; but it seems more likely if we imagine that *šiyātīš*³ denotes the same idea that is alluded to by 'peace' or 'welfare' in the Deutero-Isaiah (45. 7) with its Persian coloring. We remember that Jehovah says 'I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil,' or as Cheyne's version reads 'I am JHVH, and there is none else—Who forms light, and creates darkness, who makes welfare and creates calamity.' The Judaeo-Persian text has 'יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ i. e. Arab. *šāw* 'peace.' Dr. Gray calls attention to Esther 3. 13 (= Apoc. Esth. 13. 2) 'peace desired by all men on earth'—*τὴν ποθουμένην τοῖς πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις εἰρήνην*, and notes that Keiper, *Die Perser des Aeschylos*, pp. 22–23 compares Aesch. Pers. 852, 918 with the idea contained in the Old Persian. The question of the possible connection or the degree of relationship between the Isaiah passage and the Achaemenian faith has been often commented upon and variously estimated.⁴

As Auramazda is the author of peace as well as creator and preserver of all mankind, he is especially besought to assist in

¹ For the occurrences of $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}$ - see Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilschriften*³, p. 225.

² See *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. Kap. vii. (soon to appear).

³ The occurrences in Old Persian are: *šiyātīš* Dar. Pers. e. 23; *šiyātīm* Dar. Elv. 5; NR. a. 4 NR. b. 2; Sz. c. 2.; Xerx. Pers. da [db]. 4; Xerx. Pers. ca [cb]. 3; Xerx. Elv. 6; Xerx. Van 5.—The occurrences in Avestan are Vd. I. 1; Vsp. 7. 3; Yt. 17. 6; 17. 10; Yt. 22. 2; Fragm. Dk. ed. Peshotan, vol. 3, p. 181.

⁴ See, for example, Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus*, p. 46 ff., p. 64 ff., where bibliographical references are given. Cheyne, *Psalter*, p. 269, calls Is. 45. 7 a protest against Babylonian dualism.

trouble and to give protection from harm. Thus in the crisis with the pseudo-Smerdis Gaumāta, Darius says 'I called upon Auramazda for aid; Auramazda brought assistance unto me' (*adam Auramazdām patiyāvahaiy Auramazdāmai upastām abura*, Bh. 1. 54), or again in his prayer for deliverance from evil: 'may Auramazdā protect me from evil, and protect also my family, and also this land; I beseech Auramazda for this, may Auramazda grant this unto me' (*mām Auramazdā pātuv hačū sar . . . utāmai viṭam utā imām dahyāum aita adam Auramazdām jadīyāmiy aitamaiy Auramazdā dadātuv*, NR. a. 51-55);¹ or once more, Auramazda is invoked 'with the all (or clan ?) gods' to protect the country 'from an invading horde, from famine, and from the Lie' (*manā Auramazdā upastām baratuv hadā viṭaibiš багаibiš utā imām dahyāum Auramazdā pātuv hačū haināyā hačū dušiyārā hačū draugā aniya or abiy (?)² imām dahyāum mā ājamīyā mā hainā mā dušiyāram mā drauga aita adam yān . . m jadīyāmiy Auramazdām hadā viṭaibiš багаibiš aitamaiy Auramazdā dadātuv hadā viṭaibiš багаibiš*, Dar. Pers. d. 13-24).³ Similarly Xerxes prays that 'Auramazda with the gods' may protect him and what he has made, and that 'Auramazda with the gods' may protect that which his father Darius made (cf. *mām Auramazdā pātuv hadā багаibiš utā tyamaiy kartam utā tyamaiy piṭa Dārayavahanū xšāyathiyahyā kartam avašciy Auramazdā pātuv hadā багаibiš*, Xerx. Pers. ca[eb]. 12-15; Xerx. Pers. da[db]. 18-20). A discussion of what is meant by the allusion to the 'gods' is postponed for the moment in order to confine the attention to Auramazda as the protector of mankind. In referring to the chiselled monuments which Darius has caused to be inscribed with his achievements the king adds an invocation of blessing upon all who take care to preserve the inscription: 'may Auramazda be thy friend, and may thy family be large, and do thou live long, and let Auramazda make greater for thee whatsoever thou wilt do' (*Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā utā dargam jīvā utā tya kunavāhy avataiy Auramazdā mazūnam (?) kunautuv*, Bh. 4. 74-76). On the contrary he imprecates the curses of Auramazda upon any one that may injure or destroy the

¹ On *sar* . . , which is probably to be read *sar(ā)*, see below, p. 171.

² For the reading *aniya* see Spiegel, *Ap. Keil.* p. 48 and note; also consult the photographic reproduction in Stolze; but WB. prefer *abiy*.

³ On *viṭaibiš багаibiš* see discussion below.

inscription: 'may Auramazda be thy slayer . . . and whatever thou shalt do, may Auramazda destroy that for thee' (*Auramazdātaiy jantū biyā . . . utū tya kunavāhy avataiy Auramazdā nikantuv*, Bh. 4. 78-80).¹ From this we may infer that Ormazd in the Ancient Persian creed was at times looked upon as a god of justice and avenging wrath, or we might speak of Auramazda as the Psalmist of old spake of Jehovah, as the Lord that turneth 'man to destruction,' as well as the god that saith, 'return, ye children of men.'²

(c) The Bagas or Other Gods beside Auramazda.

From two of the passages quoted in the preceding paragraph and from several others that may be cited, it is seen that Auramazda, although supreme and the ruler of the universe, is not the only divinity that is recognized as existing. He is 'the greatest of the gods' or *maθišta bagānām*, but there are 'other gods' beside him. See also Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, pp. 118-120. In his general thanksgiving Darius says that 'Auramazda, and the other gods that are, brought assistance to me' (*Auramazdāmai upastām abara utū aniyā bagāha tyaiy hantiy*, Bh. 4. 61 and 63).

By the side of Auramazda also there is special mention of 'all the gods' or perhaps originally 'the clan gods' (*hudā viθaibiš багаибиш*) which are alluded to a half dozen or more times. Whether *viθaibiš* or *viθibiš* is to be read, and whether the 'all' gods or the 'clan' gods are to be understood, has been much discussed, as will be noticed hereafter, but perhaps Brunnhofer, *Iran und Turan*, p. 200, has come as near to the truth as any one when he makes the two ideas practically the same. The question will be reviewed below in the Appendix. But whatever view be held, there can be little doubt that the *aniyā bagāha* or *viθaibiš багаибиш* of Darius are the τοῖς ἅλλοις θεοῖς or the πάντες θεοί alluded to in Xenophon's romance of Cyrus (cf. *Cyrop.* 3. 3. 21; 8. 3. 11; 1. 6. 1; 7. 5. 57; 8. 73—see Second Series) or Οἰπανίη and Μίρπαι, the divinities that are mentioned beside the supreme deity of the Persians in Herodotus, 1. 131. See the discussion below.

¹ Cf. also Bartholomae, *IF.* ix. 260 n.

² Compare also Plutarch, Artaxerxes 30 = p. 111. A somewhat similar idea, though partly eschatological, is implied in the Zoroastrian Gāthās, Ys. 43. 4-5, cf. Ys. 47. 4. On this compare also Eugen Wilhelm, *ZDMG.* xl. 105-106.

(d) *Mithra and Anāhita.*

These two names, Mithra and Anāhita, are the names of two divinities familiar in all Iranian literature. They belong no doubt to the *bagas*. In the two inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Art. Sus. a. 5 and Art. Ham. 6) they are mentioned together beside Auramazda—*Auramazdā Anah[i]ta utā M[i]tra*—all three being invoked for aid and protection. In like manner Artaxerxes Ochus in his prayer calls upon Auramazda and Mithra: 'may Auramazda and the god Mithra protect me and protect this country and that which has been made by me' (*mām Auramazdā utā M[i]tra бага пātuв utā imām dahyum utā tya mām kartā*, Art. Pers. a [b]. 24–26). The general position of Mithra and Anāhita in the Iranian religion has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere (bibliographical references will be found in my article in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. §§ 40, 43). It is enough here to say that neither of these divinities is mentioned in the Gāthās, and as they are first invoked by Artaxerxes Mnemon it is generally regarded as retrogression or descent from the standard of Darius; but this is a matter to be more fully considered, and Mitra-Mithra, as a divinity, goes back to the period of Indo-Iranian unity.

(e) *Foy's Conjecture of Arshtāt (?)*.

In *KZ.* xxxv. 45, Foy in his interesting studies upon the Inscriptions conjectured that in the difficult word *ābaštām* or *abištām* the *ū* has been miswritten or is misread instead of *r*, and that we are to read *arštām*. This would be the acc. sg. fem. of *arštāt*, the genius of Uprightness, one of the personified abstractions which appears in Zoroastrianism—see Jackson, *Gdr. iran. Phil.* ii. 638. He again repeats the same idea in *ZDMG.* liv. 304, n. 1, to the effect that '*ābaštām* statt *arštām* vermeisselt oder von Rawlinson verlesen ist.' This is very ingenious and it would be very attractive as supporting the view that Darius was a Zoroastrian, on which we need all help that can be obtained; but it is difficult to believe that the royal stone cutter made a mistake in the letter, and we must suspend judgment until the rock itself is examined again and the exact reading determined, before we can give a decision on the question, or hazard a theory based upon the uncertain decipherment. The common reading of this word will be referred to below, p. 172.

(f) **Evil** recognized as a **Principle** in the Old Persian Inscriptions.

The question whether dualism formed a tenet in the creed of the Achaemenians has been much discussed; and, owing to the lack of emphasis of dualistic traits in the Inscriptions, the claim has been made that the earlier Achaemenian monarchs, for this very reason, could not have been Zoroastrians, and that they did not believe in dualism. I have already presented this matter in *Gdr. d. iran. Philologie* ii. 628, and have given the usual reason why there was no special call to mention Ahriman in these edicts. But whatever may be said on the subject, as I there stated, we have the principle of Evil plainly recognized in *Drauga* 'Falsehood, Lie.' In the Achaemenian Inscriptions this noun is as much a personification of a Satanic being as is *Druj* in the Zoroastrian Gāthās (see also *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. Chap. vi. A and C). Furthermore, the verb *duruj* 'to lie' occurs 34 times in the inscriptions with all the evil atmosphere of the English 'to bedevil' or 'raise hell.' It is the stock word which Darius employs when he speaks of the rebellions against his divine sovereignty, for he is Ormazd's king.¹ Full of feeling he says: 'the army afterward became hostile; the Lie afterward became rife in the land, both in Persia, and in Media, and in the other lands' (*pasāva kārā arika abava pasāva drauga dahyauvā vasiy abava utā Pārsaīy utā Mādaiy utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā*—Bh. i. 33-35). Or again he says: 'these lands which became confederate, it was the Lie that made them confederate, so that they lied unto the people' (*dahyāva imā tyā hamīθriyā abava draugadiš hamīθriyā akunauš tyā imaiy kārām adurujiyaša*,—Bh. 4. 33-35).

In the same spirit it is prescribed that 'the man who is a liar' (*martiya hya draujana*, Bh. 4. 38, 68) shall be severely punished, and there is deep fervor in the hope of Darius that what he has written in his inscription may not be regarded as 'falsified' (*duruxtam*, Bh. 4. 49). The king lays especial stress on the fact that divine aid was granted him inasmuch as he was 'not hostile, not a liar, not a crooked-dealer' (*yabā naiy arika āham naiy draujana āham naiy zurakara āham*, Bh. 4. 63-64).² Other evil forces are recognized in another prayer of Darius to Ormazd:

¹ Darmesteter, *Études Iranienes*, i. 45 n., thinks that *drauga* is political, not religious, in its implication; but it seems to me that the religious as well as the political is implied in this word.

² On *zurakara*, or *zūra* cf. Foy, *KZ.* xxxv. 22, 25, 63; *ZDMG.* liv. 358.

'may Auramazda protect this land from an (invading) horde, from Drought, from the Lie; may no enemy (?) come to this land, nor an (invading) horde, nor Drought, nor the Lie (*imām dahyāum Auramazdā pātuv hačā haināyā hačā dušiyārā hačā draugā anīya* [or *abiy*] *imām dahyāum mā ājamīyā mā hainā mā dušiyārum mā drauga*, Dar. Pers. d. 15-12 = H. 15-20).¹ Here we have a personification in *Dušiyāra*, which corresponds to *Duž-yāriya*, the evil genius of famine, bad harvest, sterility, drought, in the Avesta (Yt. 8. 51-54, cf. also Yt. 8. 36, and see Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde* ii. 72, 139, and Jackson, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. § 24, 60). We have also *hainā* which like the Avestan *hainā* may almost be looked upon as a personification of the evils of invasion and rapine.

Another incarnation of evil in the form of treachery and deceit is implied in the prayer made by Darius, as already quoted above from Naqš-i Rostam: 'may Auramazdā protect both me and my clan and this my land from treachery [or deceit]'—(*mām Auramazdā pātuv hačā sar[ā] utāmaiṣ viθam utā imām dahyāum*, NR.a. 52-53).²

(g) The Right Path.

The idea of the 'path' and the 'way' is familiar to us in the Bible, and it is found also elsewhere, for example in the Vedic *ṛtasya pathi*, *sukṛtasya pathi* (see Grassman, s. v. *pathi*), which is comparable with the Avestan *ašahe paiti pantan*, Yt. 10. 86, Vd. 4. 43, and especially Ys. 72. 11, or again it is found in the 'path' of Buddhism.³ The Ancient Persian Inscriptions contain the same idea. In the closing words of the Naqš-i Rostam inscription Darius makes an earnest appeal unto his people individually: 'O man, let not the commandment of Auramazda

¹ Spiegel, *Altpers. Keil.* p. 49 n. 18, favors *anīya*, although WB. prefer *abiy*. See above, p. 167, n. 2.

² The reading *sar[ā]* is due to my conjectural explanation proposed in JAOS. xx. 55. The Bab. and New S. (or New Elam.) versions favor this view of evil, and with Old Pers. *sara* we may also compare Sinh. *saḷa*, *sula* 'deceit,' Geiger *Etymol. des Singh.* No. 1492, and Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, § 179. I suppose I am hardly entitled to quote from Professor Justi's letter mentioning Av. *sarājan* to Dr. Gray.

³ Recall especially the communication of H. Baynes on 'The Idea of the Path and the Way in Oriental Mysticism,' at the Paris Inter-Oriental Congress in 1897.

seem unto the evil; leave not the path which is right; sin not' (*martiyā hyā Auramazdāhā framānā hauvtaiy gastū mā θadaya pabim tyām rāstām mā avaradā mā starava*, NR. a. 56-59).¹ The phrase *pabim tyām rāstām* recalls again the Avestan *razištəm pantiqm* Yt. 10. 3, cf. Ys. 68. 13, and other references to *paθ-* and *adīwan* collected in *Gdr. d. iran. Philol.* ii. 626.

(h) The Commandment of Auramazda, and the Law.

The words *hyā Auramazdāhā framānā*, 'the Firmān of Ormazd, or the Commandment of Auramazda,' as cited in the preceding paragraph, would be sufficient in themselves to show that the Law of Mazda formed the standard which Darius upheld. But whether that Commandment was the Avesta of Zoroaster, as we know it, or some other Avesta as priestly code, or not an Avesta at all, has been much discussed. It is necessary here to present a paragraph on the subject and then to return to it later.

The special passage which originally called up the discussion is one that is both defective and extremely difficult to interpret. It is Bh. 4. 64. The text was read by Rawlinson as *upariya abištām upariya ya . . .*; Spiegel² gave *upariy abaštām upariy mām*; Weisbach and Bang now have *upariy ābištām* (?) *upariyāyam*; so that the reproduction of the actual characters on the stone seems to be uncertain. Oppert, in 1872, was the first to set the ball a-rolling. In *Jour. Asiat.*, 6^{me} sér., xix. 295 (1872) he read *apariy ābaštām upariyāyam*, with the rendering, 'secundum legem regebam,' and saw in *ābaštā* the prototype of the Avesta. The basis for this reading and interpretation he especially found in the version of the Inscriptions whether Scythian, Median, New Susian, or New Elamitic, and this version he translated in 1879 by, 'j'ai gouverné conformément à la Loi,' adding in the footnote, 'La loi, en perse *ābaštā*, le prototype du mot d' *Avesta*.' See Oppert, *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, p. 151 and also pp. 155, 183, 186. Further support for this has

¹ The principal references on the reading and interpretation of the single words in this injunction, which has been much discussed, will be found in Bartholomae, *IF.* vii. 228 n., *ZDMG.* xlv. 552, xlv. 296; Bang, *ZDMG.* xliii. 530; Fr. Müller, *WZKM.* iii. 146.

² For further discussion of Bh. 1. see Weisbach, *Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art*, pp. 77, 95; Jensen, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* vi. 181 ff. (quoted below, p. 182, n. 2); Foy, *ZDMG.* lii. 597, liv. 361.

been given on the claim that the Babylonian renders this phrase by *ina dēnātu*. Yet on this point see hereafter. Oppert's own strong argument for his view was based on the short and difficult paragraph Bh. 1., which is found only in the second or New Elamitic of the three languages. This paragraph he rendered: 'Et Darius le roi dit: Par la grâce d' Ormazd, j'ai fait une collection de textes ailleurs en langue arienne, qui autrefois n'existait pas. Et j'ai fait un texte de la Loi (de l'*Avesta*) et un commentaire de la Loi, et la Bénédiction (la prière, le *Zend*), et les Traductions. Et ce fut écrit et je le promulguai en entier; puis je rétablis l'ancien livre dans tous les pays et les peuples reconnurent.' If such be the real tenor of the New Elamitic statement, few things could be more important or more satisfactory with regard to the political history of Mazdaism, or especially Zoroastrianism, as Darmesteter, Spiegel, de Harlez, and other scholars have observed. But, alas, Oppert's view does not seem to have met with general acceptance.

Darmesteter, writing in November, 1879, argued with hesitation, yet with firmness, against it in the Introduction to his *Zend-Avesta*, SBE. iv. p. lii. n. 2 (publ. in 1880). What he says covers the ground so well that it is worth repeating in part. After presenting Oppert's view and his rendering of the paragraph, he says: 'The authority of Oppert is so great, and at the same time the passage is so obscure, that I hardly know if there be more temerity in rejecting his interpretation or in adopting it. Yet I beg to observe that the word *dippimas* [which Oppert renders as 'textes'] is the usual Scythian transliteration of the Persian *dipi*, 'an inscription,' and there is no apparent reason for departing from that meaning in this passage; if the word translated 'la Loi,' *ukku*, really represents here a Persian word *Abašta*, it need not denote the *Avesta*, the religious book, as in that case the word would most certainly not have been translated in the Scythian version, but only transliterated; the ideogram for 'Bénédiction, prière,' may refer to religious inscriptions like Persepolis I.; the import of the whole passage would therefore be that Darius caused other inscriptions to be engraved, and wrote other edicts and religious formulae (the word 'traductions' is only a guess).' So Darmesteter *op. cit.* lii. n. 2; see also his notes on pp. xxx, xlv; and the same statement in *Revue Critique*, 1880, cf. *Études Iran.* ii. 7-9. Again later in his French translation *Le Zend-Avesta*, 1892-93, he refers to the

matter, i. p. xxxix. n. 1., and in iii. p. xci. repeats his rejection of Oppert's view that the Abaštā was for Darius the name of a Code, and he once more adds: 'nous concluerons donc que l'inscription ne se rapporte pas à un livre religieux et que l'on ne peut s'appuyer sur ce passage pour établir sous Darius l'existence d'un livre analogue à notre Avesta. Mais il ne serait pas moins téméraire de nier l'existence d'une littérature zoroastrienne quelconque, soit sous Darius, soit sous ses successeurs.'

Spiegel was of the same opinion as Darmesteter. In his *Alt-persische Keilinschriften*², pp. 106–109 (publ. 1881), he opposes Oppert's view on various grounds. He reviews the whole situation, but concludes (p. 109) 'dass man unter Abashtā nicht unser Awestā verstehen darf.'

C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*² (1881) pp. xi., cexi., allows that *ābaštā* means law but that it is law in general and not the sacred text (e. g. 'les travaux de M. Oppert nous apprennent que l'*abasta* [so printed] est la loi en général et non un terme sacré formant une sorte de nom propre'—p. cxi.). Nor was de Harlez willing to admit that Darius was a Zoroastrian. He also touched on the etymology of Avesta again in *Manuel de l'Avesta*, p. xiv., and in *BB.* viii. 176.

Weisbach, *Die Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art*, p. 73 (publ. 1890), indeed translates the New Elamitic version of Bh. 4. 64 as 'nach dem Gesetze herrschte (?) ich'; but his rendering of Bh. 1. does not find all in the passage that Oppert saw; the doubtful places he indicates by dots. Weisbach's rendering runs (p. 77): 'Der König Darius spricht: Durch die Gnade Ahuramazdas machte ich Inschriften in anderer Weise (?), [nämlich] auf arisch, was vormals nicht war, und das grosse und das grosse und das und das machte ich, und es wurde geschrieben und ich Darauf sandte ich selbige Inschriften in alle Lande und die Leute' His comment at p. 94 merely gives Oppert's and Norris's renderings of the different *ἁπαξ λεγόμενα*.

Fr. Müller in *WZKM.* i. 60–63 (1887) read: (*yabā adam utā*) *maiṣ taumā upariy ābaštām apariyāma* 'weil wir, ich und meine Familie, nach dem heiligen Gesetze wandelten'—notice his observation on the reconstruction and the suggested plural, *op. cit.* p. 62. The same scholar later in *WZKM.* x. 175–177 (1896) calls Oppert's identification of the form *ābaštām* 'mindestens zweifelhaft' (p. 175), or rather he says, 'alles spricht gegen die

Annahme, dass das Awesta mit dem *abaštū* oder *ābaštū* der Keilinschriften identisch ist, da wir sonst dem Worte in viel früherer Zeit begegnen und es bei den Armeniern finden müssten' (p. 176). In *WZKM.* xi. 291–292 nothing especial is added.

Bang, *BB.* xvii. 267 (1891) gave his reasons for reading *abištām* (with *i*) which he and Weisbach afterwards adopted in their edition (or rather *ābištām*, a 'Druckfehler' cf. *BB.* viii. 293); and when he later discussed the etymology in *IF.* viii. 292–293 (1898), he concluded the paragraph with a special warning: 'mit dem "Awesta" braucht das Wort nichts anderes als die äussere Form gemein zu haben: in Frankreich gabs schon vor dem "Code (Napoléon)" sogenannte "codes."'

Geldner, *Gdr. d. Iran. Phil.* ii. 2 (1896), while speaking of the etymology of the word Avesta, says that Oppert's identification with *abaštām* 'ist mindestens zweifelhaft.'

Finally, Foy in *KZ.* xxxv. 45 (1897) sought to cut the Gordian knot by avoiding the reading *upariy abaštām* altogether, and by regarding the signs as mis-carved and misread, and proposing *apariy arštām*, as discussed above, p. 169. To this suggestion he reverts again in *ZDMG.* liv. 364, n., when discussing Bang's paragraph, *IF.* viii. 292, and he adds the assurance 'dass ap. *apariy ab(i)štām* nicht dem bab. *ina dēnātu* entspricht.' His conclusion still favors *arštām*. (In *ZDMG.* lii. 254 only the etymology of *Avestā* is touched upon.)

Such is the position of the question up to the present, so far as I know it. But after having brought forward the main points it unfortunately seems wisest to leave the vexed problem for the present, with the idea of taking it up later after actually examining the inscriptions themselves, with regard to the doubtful letters, and to wait for further advance in the interpretation of the three languages concerned, instead of hazarding a view just now. This, to be sure, may seem unsatisfactory in many respects; but it appears better than to give a dogmatic decision on evidence that is not yet complete. I can only say I shall be most glad if Oppert's view in general be found to have been on the right lines; my present inclination would be to favor such an attitude, because of the importance of its bearing. But perhaps the wish is father of the thought.

(i) Religious Observance and Places of Worship.

In the Inscriptions themselves the Ancient Persian monarchs make no direct allusion to religious ceremonies or to ritual observ-

ances. For such information we have rather to look to the description which Herodotus gives and to allusions found in other classical writers or elsewhere. These will be given hereafter. The Inscriptions, however, contain several references to prayer. King Darius, for example, speaks of having been in dire distress and says, 'then I besought Auramazda; Auramazda brought me aid' (*pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvahiṣ Auramazdāmaṣ upastām abara* Bh. I. 54-55). Or again he prays, 'this boon I ask of Auramazda with all the gods; this may Auramazda grant me with all the gods' (*aita adam yān...m jadyāmaṣ Auramazdām hadā viθaibiš багаibiš aitamaṣ Auramazdā dadātuv hadā viθaibiš багаibiš*, Dar. Pers d. 20-24). NR. a. 53-55 is very similar. For Avestan parallels in phraseology we may compare Ys. 9. 19, *imem θwəm paōrīm yānəm haoma jadyemi dūraōša*, and Ys. 65. 12, *imat vō āpō jadyemi*.

The only mention of places of divine worship which we find in the Old Persian Inscriptions is in the often quoted passage Bh. I. 62-64. This may be rendered: 'I established it [the kingdom] in its place. As before, so I made the places of worship which Gaumāta the Magian had destroyed' (*adamšim gābvā avāstāyam yabā paruvamčiy avabā adam akunavam āyadanā tyā Gaumāta hya maguš viyaka*). The question whether the word *āyadanā* denotes 'places of worship' that belonged only to the Persians, or whether this includes also the temples of nations under the Persian sway, and as to what was the purpose of Gaumāta in destroying them, has been much debated. A discussion of this question will be found in the Appendix below, p. 180, and it will be taken up in a later series when the general deductions are drawn.

(j) Summary.

In the present series I have presented the religion of the Achaemenian kings, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus, purely from the objective standpoint as they are represented in their own Iranian Inscriptions. From the data given, the religion itself strikes one as being comparatively pure. Auramazda, the Lord God of Iran, is recognized as the supreme god, with other divinities beside him. Mithra and Anāhita are mentioned by name. The principle of Evil may be said to be acknowledged, although the implications are faint. The choice between the two by following the 'right path' and the 'commandment of Auramazda,' or the law, may be deduced from an

allusion in the texts themselves. Worship was regarded as an act of piety, and there were places of worship; but details regarding these are not given. Blessings are invoked in the Inscriptions and curses are imprecated, but naturally no minute injunctions are found. The necessity of speaking the truth, however, is inculcated as a cardinal tenet in the creed and the very foundation of the code of ethics. The standard of this moral and ethical code, so far as we can judge it, seems to us to be slightly lowered by the extremely cruel punishments which Darius inflicted, according to his own words. Yet we must remember that in these cases he was dealing with national offenders and traitors in the midst of perilous times.

Such at least may be said to be the impression conveyed by a study of the religion of the Old Persian kings according to the Iranian Inscriptions, which forms the subject of this first division. No material has thus far been brought in from outside; nor has any discussion been entered into as to the question whether Darius and Xerxes were followers of Zoroaster. I shall now present the additional material from the non-Iranian side in the Appendix by my pupil. For convenience also I shall include his deductions as to the Zoroastrian side of the problem, without commenting on them, and I shall take that entire matter up in a following series. I reserve also till later such a matter as that connected with the Achaemenian tombs, and similar discussions.

B. THE RELIGION OF THE ACHAEMENIANS ACCORDING TO THEIR NON-IRANIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

(APPENDIX BY DR. L. H. GRAY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.)

The Old Persian texts afford but a partial solution of the perplexing question of the religion of the Achaemenidae. The non-Iranian Inscriptions in Babylonian, New Susian, Egyptian, and Greek, which were carved at the command of these monarchs, add several data of importance. These contribute to our better understanding of their religious attitude and may help towards determining whether the dynasty was Zoroastrian or not.

The only scholar, so far as I know, who has touched upon this particular method of contributing to our scanty store of knowledge regarding the faith of the Ancient Persian kings is Bang, who has noted, *Mélanges C. de Harlez* 11, that the Babylonian translation by *tirur* of the Old Persian *jantā biyā* (Bh. 4. 78-79) is paralleled by Ašur-nāsir-abal's Monolith Inscription 90,

š[im]atišu liruur 'may he curse his fate.' Bang also notes that the New Susian version (Bh. 3. 77. 79) adds that Ormazd is 'the god of the Aryans' (^{an}Uramašta ^{an}nap ^{an}Arriyanam, see Weisbach *Achämenideninschr. zweit. Art*, 16-17), a phrase which is not found either in the Old Persian or in the Babylonian version.

There are, however, several other passages in these non-Iranian Achaemenian Inscriptions which may throw some light upon the difficult problem under consideration, and it is the purpose of this Appendix to bring them together for convenience.

Cyrus the Great. Among the non-Iranian texts of the Achaemenidae (a list of which is given by Weisbach, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 63-64) one of the best-known is the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus the Great. In this cylinder Cyrus declares that he came to restore the old order of things and, as the chosen of Merodach, to make amends for the exile to K̄utu brought upon certain captive deities by Nabonid by directing their return to their own temples again. A careful study of this inscription has been made by Tiele, *Mélanges C. de Harlez*, pp. 307-312. He thinks that Merodach was, in the eyes of Cyrus, but another name for Ormazd, and he compares the mention of Nabū's name, together with that of Marduk, with the close association of Ātar with his father, Ahura Mazda, in the Avestan texts, while the other minor deities named in the cylinders are analogous, in his judgment, to the angels (Av. *yazata*) in the Zoroastrian system.

I fear that I cannot at present subscribe entirely to this view of Tiele's. Cyrus as a follower of the unreformed, pre-Zoroastrian creed (cf. Jackson, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 617-618) may well have been as tolerant as the cylinder and the Old Testament represent him. Cyrus as a convert to the reformed teachings of Zarathushtra, all glowing with the fervor of the Master's zeal, would scarcely have treated with such complacency the godlings of an alien faith. Judging from the cylinder and speaking in terms of orthodox Zoroastrianism, Cyrus seems to me to have been a daēvayasnian, not a mazdayasnian (similar also is the view of C. de Harlez, *La Religion persane sous les Achéménides* 2, reprint from *Revue de l'instruct. publ. en Belge*, xxxviii). Judging from the cylinder my own verdict on the religious attitude of this 'shepherd of JHVH' must be, at least for the present, the one which Tiele, p. 311, rejects. It is, that the motive of Cyrus in returning to their homes the exiled gods 'was mere state-craft, even as Darius Hystaspes, whose own god was

Auramazda, later permitted himself to be called a worshipper of Amun-Rē' (see below page 184; and for further literature on this cylinder consult Weisbach and Tiele, as cited above, and Schrader's notes to his edition of the cylinder with its translation in his *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* iii. B. 120-127). The extremely high opinion of the religious attitude of Cyrus which is expressed by Cheyne, *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, pp. 182-183, as well as his esteem of Darius, *ibid.* pp. 280, 144, are in my judgment entirely too favorable to the Achaemenian kings. But when, on the other hand, Halévy, *Revue des études juives* i. 17-19, calls Cyrus 'un polythéiste dans le sens le plus absolu du mot,' he goes too far, it seems to me.

From the non-Iranian inscriptions of Cyrus I gain the impression that he was a true statesman in matters of religion, keeping his personal religious belief, whatever it may have been, in the background, as his position of ruler over nations of diverse faith and race required him to be 'all things to all men.'

Cambyzes. Cambyzes can scarcely be regarded as a Zoroastrian if his inscription on the naophoric statue in the Vatican may be taken as a criterion. In regard to the great temple at Sais, Cambyzes orders all intruders in the temple to depart and to have all obstructions put there by them removed. The fane is to be purified and priests and acolytes are to be chosen in accordance with Egyptian ritual. After the complete renovation of the temple the sacred feasts are to be held again in the same manner as of old (Brugsch, *Thes. inscript. egypt.* p. 693). When Cambyzes visited Sais after these commands of his had been executed, he paid homage personally to the goddess Neit and poured forth libations to Osiris 'even as former kings had done' (Brugsch, p. 694, cf. also ll. 18-23 of the text as given by Brugsch, pp. 639-640, and for the general attitude of Cambyzes towards the Egyptian religion, Nikel, *Herodot und die Keilschriftforschung*, p. 90=Tolman-Stevenson, *Herodotus and the Empires of the East*, p. 94).

¹ Like Cyrus the Great, Antiochus Soter (B. C. 280-260) found it politic to honor the Babylonian divinities. The Seleucid Greek built a temple to Nabû, whom he lauded as highly as a truly devout Babylonian monarch of old could have done, and to whom he prayed with fervor for all the blessings of life. The parallelism between Cyrus and Antiochus in this respect seems to me to be both striking and suggestive (see the Babylonian text of the inscription of Antiochus in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* iii. B. 136-139).

Darius. From the Old Persian Inscriptions themselves we have evidence enough to prove that Darius was a zealous worshipper of Auramazda. The non-Iranian texts of this monarch, however, supply additional data concerning his attitude toward religion which may justly cause some reluctance, it seems to me, to consider him a genuine Zoroastrian.

The Babylonian (Bh. 25) and New Susian (Bh. I. 48) phrases equivalent to the Old Persian *āyadanā* (Bh. I. 63-64), which is usually rendered 'places of worship' (see Spiegel's und Weisbach-Bang's editions of the texts; Oppert, *J.A.* 4^{me} série xvii. 404, *Le peuple . . . des Mèdes*, p. 167; Justi, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 426-427, *ZDMG.* liii. 89; Foy, *KZ.* xxxiii. 420, 422, *ZDMG.* lii. 592, liv. 342-355; Gray, *AJP.* xxi. 16) seem to me quite significant. Both versions render *āyadanā* by 'houses of the gods' (Babyl. *būtāti ša ilāni*, New Sus. ^{an}ziyan ^{an}nappanna). In my judgment Darius repaired the temples of the national divinities of the peoples under his sway, 'which Gaumāta the Magian had digged down.' Why Gaumāta had destroyed these temples is not known. Perhaps a fierce iconoclastic zeal against the gods of another people had egged the usurper on; perhaps too he may have destroyed 'places of worship' of the Persians themselves through their failure to conform to the requirements of the Magian hierarchy (cf. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. Introd. p. 71). These questions can scarcely be decided with our present sources of knowledge. At all events, I am inclined to consider *āyadanā* as including not only the fire-altars of the Ancient Persians, but the fanes of nations subject to the sway of Darius the king. If this view be a correct one, and if *āyadanā* includes 'temples' or 'houses of the gods' as well as 'places of worship,' it would seem almost impossible to assert that Darius was in harmony with Zoroastrian teaching when he rebuilt the religious structures torn down by the Magian Gaumāta. The politic course of Darius appears to have been very like that of Cyrus when he not only sent back the captive gods from Kutu but also built them their temples anew (Cylinder Inscription 32, cf. Van Hoonacker, *Mélanges C. de Harlez*, pp. 325-329), or when he restored the Temple at Jerusalem (II Chron. 36. 22-23, Ezra I. 1-11) and thus gained the extravagant eulogy of the Deutero-Isaiah (Is. 44. 28, 45. 1-4). With a similar motive of statecraft Cambyses repaired the desecrated temple of Neit at Sais, and with a spirit quite as alien to that of the Zoroastrian reform.

The ancient Iranian horror of falsehood is well known (cf. Jackson, *JAOS.* xiii. Proc. pp. 59-61). It is noteworthy that the Old Persian Inscriptions have the word for 'lie,' *drauga*, only in the singular. The Avesta likewise has only the singular *draoγa*, such a late passage as Yt. 24. 29 being no real exception. The Babylonian version, on the contrary, uses the plural of the corresponding *parṣu* 'lie' in the two passages in which the word occurs: Bh. 14 *parṣātu ina mūtūti lū mūdu* 'the lies became very numerous in the land,' Old Pers. Bh. i. 34 *drauga dahyauwā vasiy abava* 'the Lie became rife in the land'; Bh. 100 *parṣātu šinu* 'they are lies,' Old Pers. Bh. 4. 49-50 *duruxtam naniyūtiy* 'consider it falsified.' The New Susian, like the Old Persian, has the word for 'lie,' *titkim(m)e*, in the singular throughout. The use of the plural *parṣātu* 'lies' in the Babylonian version is so much weaker than the singular 'Lie' in Old Persian and New Susian (*draoγa*, *titkim(m)e*) that the usage would seem to bespeak personification among the Persians but not among the Babylonians.

The Old Persian phrase *hadā viθaibiš багаибіш* (Dar. Pers. d. 14, 22, 24) is one of much importance in the consideration of the religion of the Achaemenidae. Scholars have, almost without exception, rendered these words 'with the clan-gods' (Lassen, *ZKM.* vi. 28-30; Rawlinson, *JRAS.* O. S. x. 278; Spiegel, *Av. übers.* ii. 214, *Keilinschr.* 49; Weisbach-Bang, *Keilinschr.* 35; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 123; C. de Harlez, *Av. trad.* Introd. 10; Casartelli, *Religion des rois Achéménides* 8, reprint from *CR. du 3^{me} Cong. Scient. des Catholiques*; Justi, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 427, Anm. 2; Foy, *KZ.* xxxiii. 431; cf. also Jackson, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 632). There are, however, grave objections to this rendering. It is true that Dar. Pers. d., where alone the phrase *hadā viθaibiš багаибіш* is found, exists only in Old Persian, but two inscriptions in Babylonian and New Susian, Dar. Pers. g. and f. (old signatures of both were H., but see Weisbach, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 64) are very similar. From these two inscriptions we gain what seems to me to be the solution of the Old Persian phrase *hadā viθaibiš багаибіш*. The Babylonian inscription Dar. Pers. g. 24 contains the phrase *itti ilāni gabbi* 'with all the gods' (so also Xerx. Pers. ca. 11. 18; cb. 20-21. 25, where the Old Persian and the New Susian texts read only 'with the gods' *hadā багаибіш*, *nappi-pe-itaka*, cf. also Xerx. Pers. da. 18, b. 28). The New Susian rendering Dar. Pers. f. 13-14, 20-

21, the only places where the phrase is found in this version, by 'with all the gods' ^{an}*nap marpepta-itaka*, is another confirmation of my view that the Old Persian *viθaibiš* is not to be derived from *viθin* 'belonging to the clan' but from *vispa* > *vis(s)a* > *viθa* 'all,' and the old reading *viθibiš* is consequently to be rejected in favor of *viθaibiš*.¹

Justi, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 427, Anm. 2, opposes the view which is here taken with regard to the meaning of *viθaibiš* 'denn *viθam* (den Stamm) wird von *visam* (alles) deutlich unterschieden.' At the same time it seems that the Babylonian and New Susian texts just cited, although they are, as Justi very rightly observes, not translations of the Old Persian, intimate very clearly that the Old Persian phrase *hadā viθaibiš багаibiš* is to be rendered 'with all the gods' rather than 'with the clan-gods' (similarly also Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* ii. 365, iii. Introd. p. 65; Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* i. 226, § 404, *IF.* viii. 251-252). I depart with diffidence from Justi's interpretation of *āyadanā* (above p. 180) and of *hadā viθaibiš багаibiš*. It is not seemly for tyros to set aside lightly the decisions of veterans. My interpretation here suggested I regard as tentative and based merely on my best judgment at the present time.

The passage Dar. Pers. g. 1 may also be quoted in this connection. Here it is said that, 'great is Ormazd, who is the greatest above all gods' (*ina muḥhi ilāni gabbi*).²

A Greek inscription of Darius which was found in 1886 at Deirmenjik (see G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bull. de corr. hell.* xiii. 529 ff.) is of importance in the discussion of the creed of

¹ My former view on *viθa*, *AJP.* xxi. 3, cf. also 9, I now regard as incorrect. Cf. also Foy, *KZ.* xxxv. 67.

² The view of Oppert, *Le peuple . . . des Mèdes*, pp. 155, 186, that the short and difficult inscription Bh. 1, which is found only in New Susian, contains an allusion to the Avesta and its commentaries, to the prayers, and to the translations of these sacred texts into other languages, has been discussed above, p. 172 ff. The translation of this inscription by Jensen, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* vi. 181 ff., is worth citing in this connection. He renders as follows: 'Der König Darius spricht: Unter dem Schutze(?) Ahuramazda's machte ich Inschriften in anderer Weise(?), auf arisch(?), welche vormals nicht waren, und nach den Schriftzeichen [Tabellen] und nach einer "Lehrtafel" machte ich sowohl *hiš* als auch *ippi* [decrees] und sie wurden geschrieben und mir vorgelesen. Darauf sandte ich selbige Schriften in alle Länder und die Leute (folgten?? gehorchten?? cf. *sap* = nachdem??).'.

the Achaemenidae. The portion of the inscription which is concerned with religion is as follows (ll. 17-28): *ὅτι δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ θεῶν μου διάθεσιν ἀφανίζεις δώσω σοι μὴ μεταβαλομένῳ πείραν ἡδικημένον θυμοῦ· φυτουργοὺς γὰρ ἱεροὺς Ἀπόλλωνος φόρον ἔπρασσες καὶ χώραν σκαπανεύειν βέβηλον ἐπέτασες, ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν νοῦν, ὃς Πέρσας εἶπε. . . .* In these words Darius distinctly informs Gadates, for whom his message is intended, that his own belief is the same as that of his fathers, whereas Gadates has been attempting to efface all traces of the king's attitude toward the gods.¹ This inscription of Deirmenjik is almost polytheistic in tone. The mention of the gods (*θεοί*), and the cordial sympathy for the religious views of his non-Zoroastrian ancestors, which Darius clearly felt, if this inscription of his may be believed, are very significant. It is indeed possible to suppose that the *θεοί* are the Amshaspands (cf. Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* 47) or possibly the angels (*Av. yazata*), a hypothesis which is not without plausibility. Or again it may be suggested that Darius, even though a Zoroastrian, adopted temporarily polytheistic phraseology on account of the religion of the Greek Gadates. A third hypothesis might be offered that Darius held this particular shrine in honor on account of an oracle which Apollo had given the Persians in times long past (l. 28). On the whole, however, the Deirmenjik inscription conveys to me the general impression that Darius was not a Zoroastrian. This conclusion is sustained, in my judgment, by the Egyptian inscriptions of this monarch, which are next to be considered for their bearing on the problem under discussion.

The inscription of Darius found near Tell el-Maskhutih in Egypt seems to represent the king as a worshipper of the deities of the land. In a spirit quite like that shown by Cyrus at Babylon and by Cambyses in Egypt, the same Darius who, as we have

¹ The allusion to the gardeners sacred to Apollo, who were obliged by Gadates to tend unhallowed ground and to pay taxes, is not clear to me. Cousin and Deschamps compare Pausanias viii. 46, 3 (*loc. cit.* p. 532, n. 3, and cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta* 2 Bd., 3. Theil, 69) to explain the reverence for Apollo. The god is, they suggest (p. 540), to be identified with the Fire (*Av. ātarš*, but see Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 73, according to whom *Ātarš* was identified with Hestia rather than Apollo; and see Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* ii. 441, who regards Mithra as the Iranian equivalent of Apollo). The *φυτουργοὶ ἱεροὶ Ἀπόλλωνος* may possibly have been the priests connected with the fire-temples. See further on this inscription Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, pp. 55-57.

seen, restored the 'houses of the gods' (*bitāti ša ilāni* Bh. 25) uses religious phraseology on the stele of Tell el-Maskhutah which is far from Zoroastrian. The portion of the inscription which concerns us at present is as follows (ll. 1-5, see the translation by Golénischeff, *Rec. de trav.* xiii. 106-107): '(Darius) born of Neit, the lady of Neit, the lady of Sais, image of the god Ra who hath put him on his throne to accomplish what he hath begun. . . . (master) of all the sphere of the solar disc [i. e. of the sphere traversed by the solar disc]. When he [Darius] was in the womb [of his mother], and had not yet appeared upon earth, she [the goddess Neit] recognized him as her son, and granted to him . . . she hath (extended) her arm to him with the bow before her to overthrow forever his enemies, as she had done for her own son, the god Ra. He is strong . . . (he hath destroyed) his enemies in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius who lives forever, the great, the prince of princes, the . . . (the son) of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the mighty. He is her son [of the goddess Neit], powerful and wise to enlarge his boundaries.'

In line 5 of the stele of Darius at Chaluf there is an allusion to 'an adoration made to God by his seers [of Darius].' Daressy in his discussion of this passage, *Rec. de trav.* xi. 170, thinks that these 'seers' were Magians, 'for the Egyptian religion had no priests with this name.' I do not feel qualified to decide upon this point. The impression which I gain from the Egyptian inscriptions combined with his Greek message to Gadates and added to the hints which seem to exist in his Babylonian and New Susian text is far less flattering to the monarch's religious zeal than to his political shrewdness. I regret to say that, to the best of my judgment, the lofty creed held by Darius in the opinion of many great scholars does not find a confirmation in his non-Iranian Inscriptions.

A conclusion as to the religion of the Achaemenians drawn solely from a study of their non-Iranian Inscriptions seems hardly favorable to the view that these monarchs were Zoroastrians. But an exact decision cannot be reached from such texts alone. Only by a synthesis of all data on this mooted problem can we hope even to approximate the truth.

An Androgynous Babylonian Divinity.—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

IN 1894 I had the honor to call the attention of the Oriental Society to a Sabæan inscription previously published by the Derenbourgs, which registers the metamorphosis of the goddess Athtar in South Arabia into a god.¹ The Sabæan inscriptions since published in fasciculi 2 and 3 of the *Corpus* make it clear that the goddess Athtar was not so much transformed in the process, as divided into a masculine and feminine deity, the name Athtar or some epithet like Tâlab Riyâm or Ilmaqquahu being retained for the masculine portion, while the feminine portion went by the name of Shamsu, and both were considered the parents of their worshippers.²

An old Babylonian inscription published by the British Museum in 1898 in Part III of the *Cuneiform Texts* (plate I, No. 12155) gives us evidence that a similar process of development took place in this goddess among the Semites of Babylonia. The inscription has been translated by Thureau Dangin³ and by Radau,⁴ but in my judgment both have failed to catch the point wherein the inscription is significant for the history of the religion. It runs:

Dingir LUGAL-RA KUR KUR
dingir NANA
NIN *dingir* NANA-RA
LUGAL-TAR-SI
LUGAL KISH
GIR KISAL
MU-NA-RU.

¹ The article was published in *Hebraica*, Vol. X, p. 204. The Derenbourgs published in *Journal Asiatique*, 8 ser. Vol. II, pp. 256-266.

² See my *Semitic Origins* in preparation.

³ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. IV, p. 74, n. 15, which corresponds to his *Tablettes chaldéennes inédites*, p. 6, n. 15.

⁴ *Early Babylonian History*, p. 125, n. 3.

Thureau Dangin translates: "En l'honneur du dieu roi des contrées et de Ishtar, de la dame Ishtar, Lugal-tar-si, roi de Kish, le mur' de la terrasse(?) a construit." Radau would render: "To the god of countries and of Ishtar, mistress of the divine Inanna,"² etc. The French savant has evidently found the names of deities in the first line awkward, while the American scholar, following other parallels afforded by this French master, seems to me to dispose of the matter in a somewhat violent manner. I would translate as follows:

"For the king of countries,
the god Ishtar;
for the lady, the goddess Ishtar,
Lugaltarsi,
king of Kish,
the structure of a terrace
has made."

The kings of Kish were evidently Semitic as the inscriptions published by Hilprecht,³ who first discovered them, show. Since

¹ Thureau Dangin reads in l. 6 BAD KISAL, where I have read ĠIR KISAL. The sign does not perfectly represent either one. Cf. Thureau Dangin's *Recherches sur l'origine l'écriture cunéiforme*, Nos. 364 and 367.

² Radau bases this rendering on two passages of Thureau Dangin's translation of *Galet A* of Eannadu in the *Revue Semitique*, Vol. V, p. 67 ff. In the passage to which Radau really refers, Col. II. l. 5, the French scholar translates the sign for Ishtar, (cf. the text in *Revue d'assyriologie*, pl. I) by "Inanna" largely because he was unable farther down (Col. V. 26), to render it otherwise (cf. *loc. cit.* n. 1). In reality Inanna is to Dangin only another name of Nana. Nana and Ninkharsag were, as Professor Davis has pointed out (*PAOS.*, 1895, p. cexv.), the same goddess under different names. The passage in question in Col. II of Eannadu's *Galet* is proof of it and should be rendered: 1. 2 "nourished by the life-giving milk (1. 3) of Ninkharsag (1. 4) given a name (1. 5) by Ishtar." So also in Col. V, l. 26, the passage which suggested the rendering of Thureau Dangin I not only see no reason for reading Inanna, especially if with Radau we treat Inanna as a temple, but would read as follows: (Col. V, l. 23) "To Eanadu, (24) Patesi (25) of Shirpurla (26) by Ishtar, the mother (cf. *Recherches* No. 404), (Col. VI, l. 1) whom he loves, (2) with the pateship (3) of Shirpurla (4) the kingship of Kish (5) was given." These parallels therefore fail to convince one that these scholars are right.

³ *OBI.* Nos. 5-10. Winckler (*Orientalische Forschungen*, II, 144), and Hilprecht (*OBI.* Pt. II, p. 56), doubt whether Kish was a real city. These doubts are now rendered unnecessary. In the inscriptions of the kings of other cities, the name Kish always has the determinative for place. Cf. Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 126.

the sign employed in the inscription of Lugaltarsi to express the name of the deity is the well known sign explained in a syllabary as "Ishtar,"¹ we are no doubt right in translating it Ishtar.

Strange as such a combination of masculine and feminine qualities may seem in a deity, there are other traces of their union in one deity in ancient Babylonia. In the incantation published in IV R. 1, there occur in Col. II, ll. 25-28 the expressions: AMA A-A *dingir* EN-LIL and AMA A-A *dingir* NIN-LIL, which are translated in the Semitic lines by a-bi um-mi ša *ilu* En-lil, and a-bi um-mi ša *ilu* Nin-lil. The Sumerian evidently means "the mother-father En-lil," and "the mother-father Nin-lil," while the Semitic has turned this about and renders "the father-mother who is Enlil," and "the father-mother who is Nin-lil." Delitzsch remarks of this expression (*Wörterbuch*, p. 20), "d. h. den Namen des Bel und der Beltis, des Elternpaares Bels." The point of the expression, however, is not that they are referred to as a pair of parents but that the qualities of both father and mother are attributed to both.² In the light of the treatment of Ishtar in the inscription of Lugaltarsi this fact clearly points to a similar origin for Enlil and Ninlil. There must have been a time when masculine and feminine qualities were attached in popular conception to this deity while as yet its name had not been differentiated, just as they were attached to Ishtar in the time of Lugaltarsi.

There are two phenomena in connection with the Phoenician pantheon which suggest a similar development there. An Ashtart of Sidon is called "Ashtart of the name of Baal" as though there were a time when both were represented by the same name (see *CIS.* 3¹⁸), and Tanith of North Africa is constantly called in the inscriptions "Tanith of the face of Baal" as though there had been a time when they ascribed both masculine and feminine characteristics to their deity, and from that time there had survived an idol of a goddess with a bearded face. (See *CIS.* 195, and *passim.*)

¹ II R. 59, 12e, f. Cf. Brünnow's *List*, No. 3051.

² Abi-ummi in the sense of maternal grandfather, (Strassmaier's *Cyrus*, No. 277, l. 4), has of course a different origin.

The Genesis of the God Eshmun.—By GEORGE A. BARTON,
Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

It has long been recognized¹ that the god Eshmun is related to the god Adonis or Tammuz. Baethgen's statement that Tammuz was to the inhabitants of Palestine a foreign word as much as the Egyptian Osiris seems also to be borne out by the facts. The name Tammuz occurs only in Ezekiel 8:14, and is, since Ezekiel wrote from Babylonia, Dumuzu, a variant form of the Babylonian Duzu. The thesis of this paper is that Eshmun is the Phoenician name of Tammuz, or the Phoenician god corresponding to Duzu, so that Eshmun and Adonis are one.

This view seems to be justified by the following considerations:

1. As has been pointed out elsewhere² the old Semitic mother goddess and Tammuz are deities which in some form go back to primitive Semitic times, and it is to be expected that as the Semites scattered, different epithets would be attached to the same deity in different places. 2. It is recognized by all scholars that the equivalent of this deity existed in Palestine and Phoenicia. The testimony of Ezekiel, Lucian and others leaves no room for doubt on this point. 3. In extant inscriptions neither Tammuz nor Adonis occur, so far as I can find, as proper names. Adon occurs frequently, but always as an epithet of some god, Baal, Hamman, Eshmun, etc. 4. In contrast with this fact, is the fact that the name of Eshmun is of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. Eshmun is as popular as one would expect Tammuz to be. 5. Eshmun was a god of the healing art, identified with the Greek Aesculapius (*CIS.* 143). Several scholars identify him with the Iolaos who in a Semitic myth in Greek dress saved the life of Hercules.³ Similar characteristics pertained to Tammuz, since the bringing back of the dead to life is but a heightened form of healing the sick.⁴ 6. In the development of the Semitic

¹ Cf. Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, Bd. I. (1841), p. 226 ff. and Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 44.

² *Hebraica*, X, 75 ff.

³ See Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, 2 ed., 469, and Pietschmann, *Phoenizier*, 161.

⁴ Cf. Jeremias' *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 7.

religion Astarte in course of time became associated with Baal, the two usually forming a pair. From the close relation which existed in early times between Tammuz and Ashtart one would naturally expect that if Tammuz survived at all, he would be closely associated with this pair. This, however, is just the position which is held by Eshmun in all the principal seats of Phoenician worship. At Carthage, Tanith, the equivalent of Ashtart, and Baal were worshipped in his temple (*CIS.* 252), while Hannibal, in ratifying the treaty with Philip of Macedon, swore by Heracles (Baal), and Iolaos (Eshmun), (Polybius, vii, 9, 2). Once (*CIS.* 245) he is made into a compound deity with Ashtart, or at least united with her.¹ At Sidon his worship was very popular and took rank with that of Baal and Ashtart (*CIS.* 3). We learn from Philo of Biblos,² that at Tyre, Ashtarte, Zeus Demerous (Baal) and Adodos (i. e. some god called Adon, probably Eshmun), were the chief deities. At Kition and Idalion in Cyprus, where there were important temples of Ashtart, the worship of Eshmun flourished, as the many proper names from there into which he enters show. He is also in several inscriptions called Melqart, or "king of the city," a title given to Baal at Tyre. Indeed, it is probable that this indicates a conscious union of Eshmun and Melqart, and is another evidence of the close kinship for which we are contending. 7. With Eshmun as Aesculapius, there are associated two versions of a myth of his death and resurrection which are familiar to all classical scholars in two or more forms. This myth is probably a variant version of that which Lucian tells of Adonis at Gebal (Byblos).³ This is another link of evidence for their identity. 8. Adonis or Adon is only an epithet, not a name. It is an epithet often applied to Eshmun as the name Eshmun-adon, which was quite common, shows. If Baethgen is right, as I believe he is, in the view that the name Tammuz was unknown in Palestine and Phoenicia, it is clear that there must have been some other name for the god than Adon, an epithet which was applied indiscriminately to all the gods. I think, therefore, that the conclusion that this name was Eshmun is justified.

¹ Cf. my paper "West Semitic Deities with Compound Names," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XX.

² See Orelli's *Sanchoniathontis Fragmenta*, p. 30.

³ See Lucian's *De Syria Dea*, §§ 6-9.

What the name Eshmun means and how it originated, it is hard to say. It was probably originally some kind of an epithet. Of the suggestions made, the one most worthy of credence is probably that of Lagarde (*Gr. Uebers. der Provv.*, p. 81), repeated by W. R. Smith (*Rel. of Sem.*, 2 ed., 469), viz.: that the name is to be connected with the Arabic سَمَانِي, "quail," because in the myth Iolaos brought Heracles to life by giving him a quail to smell of.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The present volume, xxi, second half, precedes in time of appearing the first half, which has been delayed. The latter is a complete Index to all the previous volumes. It has a separate pagination and will be issued as soon as possible. Unavoidable obstacles have prevented its earlier appearance and it seemed undesirable to keep back the second half till the first should appear.

In the matter of Avestan transcription the editor on the Aryan side was confronted with the following problem. The articles in this volume by Prof. Mills and Dr. Gray, respectively, belong each to a series of articles by the same authors published partly in this Journal and partly elsewhere in different systems of transcription. It seemed unjust to compel either writer to change completely his previous system, especially as the Journal has hitherto adopted no one system. For this reason, although at the expense of uniformity, the two articles have been published in accordance with the systems of transcription employed in previous articles by the same writers. But it is obviously inadvisable to follow such a course in future, and as Prof. Mills' series of articles has now come to an end, while at the same time the system approved by the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* generally obtains, this latter system has been adopted for the Journal and contributors of future articles are requested to conform to it. The principal deviations from the old standard of Justi's *Handbuch der Zendsprache* are as follows:

Justi	e, New standard	ə	Justi	č, New standard	č
"	é,	"	"	ñ,	"
"	ē,	"	"	ñ,	"
"	āo,	"	"	ñ,	"
"	ā,	"	"	ç,	"
"	kh,	"	"	s,	"
"	gh,	"	"	sh,	"
"	c,	"	"	sk,	"
"	j,	"	"	zh,	"
"	th,	"	"	q,	"
"	dh,	"	"		

For a comparative table of the various systems of transcription employed prior to 1890, see Jackson, *Avestan Alphabet and its Transcription*, 30-33.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.,
1900.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Philadelphia, Pa., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 19th, 20th, and 21st, in the Widener lecture room of the Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions :

Abbott	Driscoll	Johnston	Sanders
Adler	Ewing	Lanman	Schuyler
Atkinson	Foote	Lilley	Scott
Barton	Ginzberg	Lyman	St. Clair, Jr.
Blake	Gothel	Michelson	Torrey
Blomgren	Gray	Morse	Ward, W. H.
Bloomfield	Grimm	Oertel	Williams, F. W.
Bolling	Haupt	Ogden, Miss	Williams, T.
Carus	Hazard	Price	Wolfe
Collitz	Hopkins	Ramsay	Yohannan
Oulin	Hyvernath	Remy	[Total, 49.]
Dennis, J. T.	Jackson	Runtz-Rees, Mrs.	
Dippell	Jastrow, M., Jr.	Sailer	

The first session of the Society took place on Thursday noon. In the absence of its President it was called to order at 12.15 by the first Vice-President, Dr. W. Hayes Ward.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th and 7th, 1899, were sent by the Recording Secretary, Professor Moore, through Professor Torrey. On motion of Professor Hopkins their reading was dispensed with.

Professor Jastrow presented the report of the local Committee of Arrangements in the form of a printed program. An invitation was extended by the members of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia to lunch with them on Thursday at one o'clock at the Faculty Club. The Faculty Club and the University Club kindly

extended the courtesies of their respective Clubs to the members of the Society. These invitations were accepted with the thanks of the Society.

On motion of Professor Lanman, Professor Oertel was elected to act as Recording Secretary during the sessions.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected (for convenience, the names of those who were elected at later sessions are here included):

*CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Rev. Dr. Justin E. Abbott, Bombay, India.
 Mr. Frank R. Blake, Baltimore, Md.
 Rev. C. A. Blomgren, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mr. Israel Davidson, New York, N. Y.
 Mr. Alfred L. P. Dennis, New York, N. Y.
 Mr. J. T. Dennis, Baltimore, Md.
 Rev. Arthur H. Ewing, Lodiana, India.
 Rev. John C. Ferguson, Shanghai, China.
 Rev. Theodore Clinton Foote, Baltimore, Md.
 Dr. Louis H. Ginzberg, New York, N. Y.
 Prof. E. D. Goodwin, Washington, D. C.
 Prof. Richard Henebry, Washington, D. C.
 Mr. Robert E. Hume, New Haven, Conn.
 Miss Mary Jeffers, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Prof. Charles S. Leavenworth, Shanghai, China.
 Dr. Berthold Laufer, Cologne, Germany.
 Dr. Charles Ray Palmer, New Haven, Conn.
 Mr. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton, N. J.
 Miss Catharine B. Runkle, Cambridge, Mass.
 Mr. W. W. Spence, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
 Mr. H. H. St. Clair, Jr., Nyack-on-Hudson, N. Y.
 Mr. Nathan Stern, New York, N. Y.
 Mr. Joseph T. Stickney, Paris, France.
 Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., New Haven, Conn.
 Mr. W. W. Wood, Baltimore, Md.
 Dr. James H. Woods, Boston, Mass. [Total, 26.]

MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. Felix Adler, New York, N. Y.
 Prof. W. J. Beecher, Auburn, N. Y.
 Prof. F. H. Giddings, New York, N. Y.
 Prof. H. G. Mitchell, Boston, Mass.
 Mr. F. N. Robinson, Cambridge, Mass.
 Miss F. S. Rogers, Washington, D. C. [Total, 6.]

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, in reporting the correspondence of the year called special attention to communications from Dr. Grierson and Dr. Stein, reading parts of letters received from each in regard to the philological and antiquarian researches made by these two scholars respectively. Other

communications from various scholars were also presented. Professor Bloomfield called the Society's attention to the fact that the position heretofore held by Dr. Stein is now filled by a member of the Society, Dr. A. W. Stratton, formerly of Chicago University.

The Treasurer, Mr. F. W. Williams, presented the following report :

The Treasurer has the honor to present the following account of the receipts and disbursements of the Society during the calendar year 1899 together with a statement of its invested funds. As will be seen from this account the gross receipts during the year amounted to \$1,667.09, or, excluding two exceptional items, a life-membership fee and a sum collected by Professor Lanman for the Society's contribution toward the "Orientalische Bibliographie," to \$1,467.09. This total is made up from \$1,057.00 annual dues received from corporate members, \$250.19 from sales of publications and \$159.90 from interest on invested funds exclusive of the Bradley Type Fund. Of these items the first is smaller by \$124 than that of last year—indicating an increased reluctance on the part of members to pay their assessments rather than a decrease in membership,—but in the increased sales of the Journal (\$250.19 against \$137.07) and by the normal increment of compound interest (\$159.90 against \$136.58) this difference is more than made good. The actual expenditures show a total of \$1,267.04, composed of \$1,219.86 for printing both parts of Vol. xx of the Journal, and \$47.18 for job printing, postage and incidental expenses. This may be taken as about the average cost of carrying on the Society on the basis of its present work, and must not be compared with the \$895 disbursements shown in last year's report which comprised the cost of printing only one part of the Society's annual publication.

Receipts and Disbursements by the Treasurer of the American Oriental Society for the year ending Dec. 31, 1899 :

RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1898-----		\$1,833.08
Dues (183) for 1899-----	\$915.00	
Dues (22) for other years -----	110.00	
Dues (16) H. S. Religions-----	32.00	
	<hr/>	\$1,057.00
Life membership-----		75.00
Subscriptions for Orient. Bibliogr.-----		125.00
Sales of publications -----		250.19
Dividends State National Bank-----	\$51.98	
Interest Cambridge Savings Bank -----	59.60	
Interest Suffolk Savings Bank -----	5.55	
Interest Provident Inst. Savings-----	42.82	
	<hr/>	159.90
Gross receipts for the year-----		1,667.09
		<hr/>
		\$3,500.17

EXPENDITURES.

Printing Journal, vol. xx, part I.....	\$665.79	
“ “ vol. xx, part II.....	554.07	
“ sundry jobs	6.75	
	<u> </u>	\$1,226.61
Postage, etc., Treasurer	24.50	
“ “ Corresp. Secretary.....	7.50	
“ “ Librarian.....	8.43	
	<u> </u>	40.43
		<u> </u>
		\$1,267.04
Honorarium to editor.....		100.00
Life Membership deposited in Suffolk Savings Bank		75.00
Subvention to Orient. Bibliogr.....		97.00
		<u> </u>
		\$1,539.04
Credit balance on general account.....		1,961.13
		<u> </u>
		\$3,500.17

STATEMENT OF FUNDS, DEC. 31, 1899.

	1898.	1899.
I. Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank)....	\$1,737.20	\$1,805.43
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (Provident Institution for Savings).....	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. Eight shares State National Bank, market value	1,000.00	1,000.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (Suffolk Savings Bank)	150.00	225.00
The following are included in the general account :		
V. Cash in Provident Institution for Savings....	213.10	255.92
VI. Cash in Suffolk Savings Bank	19.98	25.53
VII. Cash on deposit on hand.....	1,600.00	1,679.68
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	\$5,720.28	\$5,991.56

The Chair appointed Professors Sanders and Oertel to audit this report as well as last year's, which had not yet been audited.

Professor Lanman suggested that the money now accumulating in the Bradley Type Fund might possibly be utilized for some purposes other than the purchase of oriental types. This suggestion was referred to the Directors.

Professor Hopkins presented the report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name:

The additions to the Society's library for the year past have been 57 volumes, 92 parts of volumes and 210 pamphlets, these last being principally dissertations.

The list of donors comprises 39 societies and institutions and 15 individuals.

The most noteworthy single gift is a copy of Lady Meux Manuscript No. I, containing the Lives of Mabá' Sěyón and Gabra Krěstós, the

Ethiopic texts edited with an English translation by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge. This privately printed volume, a thick quarto with ninety-two colored plates and other illustrations, is the third gift of this character which the Society has received from Lady Meux, of Theobald's Park, Hertfordshire.

The number of titles in the library (dissertations not included) is now 5132; of manuscripts, 188.

Respectfully submitted,

ADDISON VAN NAME, *Librarian.*

New Haven, April 17, 1900.

On motion of Professor Lanman it was voted to send a vote of thanks to Lady Meux for her gift to the library.

The Editor of the Journal, Professor Moore, reported as follows:

The Second Part of Volume xx, for July to December, 1899, which should have been out in the summer, was issued in January, 1900. The delay was occasioned by the great difficulty I experienced in getting the material for the volume from the contributors. The printing dragged along into a season of the year when the printers are fully occupied with other work and this caused additional delay. The prompt publication of the Journal, which all must desire, is not possible unless the matter for the volume is all in the editor's hands within a few weeks after the meeting, as was set forth in the Proceedings of the last meeting (p. 366).

I am sorry to say that unforeseen labors and responsibilities have prevented me from completing the promised Index to the Journal. The work has made considerable progress, and I shall make every effort to print it before the close of the year. That it may be possible to do this I must ask to be relieved of the duties of editor.

In making my last report I wish to thank my colleagues on whom I have often had to call for assistance and advice, always promptly and efficiently given; and the contributors to the Journal for their coöperation.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE F. MOORE.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported that since its last meeting (but in the first case just before this) the Society had lost by death the following members:

HONORARY MEMBER.

Prof. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Oxford, England.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Rev. Daniel M. Bates, Clifton Heights, Pa.

Prof. Daniel G. Brinton, Media, Pa.

Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. W. Henry Green, Princeton, Pa.

Dr. E. B. Landis, Chemulpo, Corea.

Prof. Jules Luquiens, New Haven, Conn.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. S. R. House.

Rev. Dr. S. H. Kellogg.

Professor Jastrow made some remarks upon Professor Daniel G. Brinton, whose work in American philology had been widely recognized. Dr. Ward spoke of Prof. W. H. Green, and the Corresponding Secretary, after speaking of Prof. Luquiens, a former pupil of Prof. Whitney and long a professor in Yale University, alluded to the fact that Dr. Landis had died in Corea the day after he was made a member of the Society (16 April, 1898).

The meeting adjourned at 1.05 P. M.

The Society reassembled at 3.15 o'clock in the afternoon, Dr. Ward presiding.

The Chair appointed the following a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year: Professors Haupt, Jackson, Sanderson.

On the recommendation of the Directors it was voted to appoint a committee to consider the question of transcription of Semitic alphabets. The Chair appointed Professors Gottheil, Haupt, Hyvernatt, and Moore members of this committee.

It was voted to adjourn at 5.30 P. M.

Professor Hopkins announced, for the Directors, that the next regular meeting of the Society would be held in New York City, on April 11th, 12th and 13th, and that the Directors had decided to accept the invitation of the associated philological societies to hold a Second American Congress of Philologists in Philadelphia, December 27-29, 1900.

The following communications were then presented:

Dr. J. E. Abbott, on Conditions in India. (Remarks were made on this by Professors Lanman, Bloomfield, and Hopkins.)

Mr. Blake, the poetic form of Isaiah, chap. xl.

Professor Bloomfield, on the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns. (Remarks were made by Professors Lanman and Collitz.)

Professor Hopkins read a brief communication by Professor Fay on the Prometheus fire legend.

Professor Gottheil described a valuable Koran MS., written in Cufic script, said to have been written by Caliph Ali, but dated somewhere between the eighth and tenth century of our era.

Mr. Gray, Contributions to the syntax of the Avesta.

Dr. Grimm, on the use of ענה, 'to answer' in the Old Testament. (Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow.)

Professor Haupt, The Showbread.

Professor Hopkins, Vedic Literature in the Sanskrit Epic.

Professor Jackson, A Sanskrit Story translated from Daṇḍin's *Daṇḍakumāracarita* and the second series of his Time analysis of Sanskrit plays.

On motion of Professor Jastrow it was voted to meet at 10 o'clock on Friday morning.

The Society adjourned at 5.45.

The third session was held on Friday morning at 10.20. The reading of papers was resumed as follows :

Dr. Johnston, A letter of Śamaś-śum-ukīn to his brother Sardana-palus.

Professor Barton, The story of Abīkar and the Book of Daniel. (Remarks by Professor J. R. Harris.)

Professor Price, Notes on the pantheon of the Gudean cylinders. (Remarks by Professor Jastrow and Dr. Ward.)

Dr. P. Carus, Coincidences, Significant passages of Chinese, Indian, and Greek Sages. (Remarks by Mr. Lilley.)

Professor Jastrow, Babylonian influences in the Pentateuchal codes. (Remarks by Professor Price.)

Professor Lanman, On the name of Buddha's birthplace (Remarks by Professor Hopkins) and Talking birds in ancient India. (Remarks by Professor Jackson and Messrs. Abbott and Schuyler.)

Professor Haupt then spoke on Philippine problems. After the reading of this communication Professor Haupt proposed the formation by the Society of a special section devoted to Colonial studies with especial reference to the Oriental possessions lately come under the jurisdiction of the United States. On motion of Professor Jastrow this proposal was referred to the Directors for report before the close of the meeting.

Mention having been made by Professor Haupt of the excellent efforts of the Smithsonian Institute in the line of Oriental research, Dr. Cyrus Adler briefly surveyed the scientific work done by Government touching the new territories. Dr. Adler then introduced the following resolution :

The American Oriental Society respectfully urges upon Congress the importance of the extension of the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, to the Philippine Islands for the study of the languages and customs of the native populations, and the issuing of simple vocabularies and works which will be of use to officers of the Army, Navy and Civil Service whose duties will call them to those islands.

On motion of Professor Gottheil this was also referred to the Directors for report before the meeting adjourned.

Mr. Michelson then presented the following three communications : The Indo-European tenses *Aspiratae* in Greek ; The genitive in *-hya* in Old Persian ; and a Note on N.R.a. 52. (Remarks were made by Professor Jackson.)

Professor Oertel spoke on the phonetic character of Sanskrit *h*. (Remarks by Professor Lanman and Mr. Michelson.)

President Ramsay presented a study of the second Psalm.

The meeting adjourned at 12.45.

The afternoon session began at 3.15, Dr. Ward being in the chair.

The Directors reported the election of Professors Hopkins and Torrey to serve as editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The following papers were read :

Mr. Blake, Babylonian rites and the Atharva Veda.

Mr. Schnyler announced an Index verborum to the fragments of the Avesta. (Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Jackson.)

Dr. Talcott Williams, Islam in Morocco. (Remarks by Professor Hopkins.)

Professor Gottheil, The Mohammedans in the Philippines.

Rev. Mr. Ewing, Some phases of non-Christian religious activity in the Punjab. (Remarks by Professor Bloomfield and Dr. Abbott.)

Professor Haupt, The inspection of the intestines in the Jewish ritual. (Remarks by Professor Jastrow.)

Professor Hopkins, Atheism versus Theism in Ancient India. (Remarks by Professor Lanman and Mr. Ewing.)

Professor Jackson, The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. (Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Dr. Ward.)

Professor Jastrow spoke on the first International Congress for the historical study of religions to be held in Paris.

A paper by Mr. A. H. Allen, The Banyan Sāvitrī rite as given in the Vratārka and by Hemāndri, was presented by Professor Lanman.

Dr. Ward spoke on the Hittite Question.

Rev. Mr. Foote on 2 Samuel, 6.

The Society adjourned at 6 o'clock.

The last session of the Society was called to order at 9.45 on Saturday morning by Professor Lanman, one of its Vice-Presidents.

The Committee to nominate officers recommended reelection of the old board of officers and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore.

Vice-Presidents—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Andover.

Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named : and President William R. Harper, of Chicago ; Professors Richard Gottheil, A. V. Williams Jackson, and Francis Brown, of New York ; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore ; Professor Henry Hyvernât, of Washington.

Action on Professor Haupt's Recommendation of the creation of a special section for colonial studies was, on motion of Professor Gottheil, deferred till the next regular meeting.

Professor Lanman announced that the Directors had voted to continue the subvention to the *Oriental Bibliography* (see Journal xx, 2d half, p. 369).

A vote of thanks to Professor Moore for his faithful editorial services in behalf of the Society was unanimously adopted.

Professor Lanman made an announcement in regard to Professor Hoernle's Weber MS. and invited subscriptions.

Professor Lanman reported that the Directors had unanimously voted to recommend the following resolution for adoption by the Society :

Voted, that the American Oriental Society cordially approves the plans of the International Committee appointed at the last Congress at Paris for the formation of an India Exploration Fund and will be glad to second in any possible way the efforts of the American representative of the Committee to further the work of the Fund by organized action in the United States.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Society and the following gentlemen chosen to serve on the Committee: Professor Lanman, President Gilman, Professors White, Hopkins, Jackson, Mr. Rockhill, Professor C. E. Norton, President B. I. Wheeler, Professor Bloomfield, President Harper and Dr. Talcott H. Williams.

The Society adopted by unanimous vote the resolution offered by Dr. C. Adler and recommended by the directors, to be communicated to both houses of Congress.

Professor Lanman spoke briefly on the urgent need of good text-books for the progress of Indian studies, which gave rise to a discussion in which Professors Gottheil, Hopkins, and Jastrow participated.

Mr. Remy spoke on the influence of Persian literature on the German poet Platen. (Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.)

Professor Torrey presented a brief abstract of his two papers: "*M'pharr'shē* and *M'phōrāsh*" again, and the old Syriac (Lewis Palimpsest) reading in Matthew 14, 26 ; Mark 6, 49. (Remarks by Professors Harris and Hyvernât.)

Rev. Mr. Ginzberg discussed, in German, Greek Loan-words in Aramaic: (Remarks by Professors Gottheil and Lanman.)

Professor Bloomfield discussed *ṛcīṣama*, an epithet of India.

The papers entitled as below under the names of Professor Haupt (No. 20), Rev. Mr. Kohut (Nos. 29-31), and Prof. Prince (Nos. 40-41) were read by title only.

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its sincere thanks to the Board of Managers of the Free Museum of Sciences and Art for the use of their rooms; to the Oriental Club of Philadelphia for their generous hospitality; to the Faculty Club, University Club, and Acorn Club for courtesies extended to the Society; and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

The meeting adjourned at 11 o'clock to meet in Philadelphia, December 27, 1900. The proceedings at this meeting are given below.

The following is a list of the papers presented to the Society:

1. Rev. Dr. J. E. Abbott, On Conditions in India.
2. Mr. A. H. Allen, The Banyan Sāvitrī rite as given in the Vratārka and by Hemāndri.
3. Prof. Barton, The story of Ahiṣar and the Book of Daniel.
4. Mr. Blake, (a) Babylonian Rites and the Atharva Veda.
5. Mr. Blake, (b) The poetic form of Isaiah, Chapter XL.
6. Prof. Bloomfield, (a) *ṛcīṣama*, an epithet of Indra.
7. Prof. Bloomfield, (b) On the relative chronology of the Vedic Hymns.
8. Dr. Paul Carus, Coincidences, Significant passages of Chinese, Indian, and Greek Sages.
9. Rev. Mr. Ewing, Some phases of non-christian religious activity in the Punjab.
10. Prof. Fay, Note on the Prometheus fire-legend.
11. Rev. Mr. Foote, Note on 2 Samuel, vi.
12. Dr. Ginzberg, Greek-loan words in Aramaic.
13. Prof. Gottheil, (a) A Koran Manuscript.
14. Prof. Gottheil, (b) The Mohammedans in the Philippines.
15. Mr. Gray, Contributions to the syntax of the Avesta.
16. Dr. Grimm, The use of ענה, to answer, in the Old Testament.

17. Prof. Haupt, (a) The inspection of the intestines in the Jewish ritual.
18. Prof. Haupt, (b) The Showbread.
19. Prof. Haupt, (c) Philippine problems.
20. Prof. Haupt, (d) Three brief announcements; (1) Count Landberg's collection of Arabic manuscripts; (2) Suggestions for future Oriental Congresses; (3) The new volume of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and comparative Semitic grammar.
21. Prof. Hopkins, (a) Vedic Literature in the Sanskrit epic.
22. Prof. Hopkins, (b) Atheism *versus* deism in India.
23. Prof. Jackson, (a) A Sanskrit story translated from Daṇḍin's Daṣakumāracarita.
24. Prof. Jackson, (b) Time analysis of Sanskrit Plays. Second Series.
25. Prof. Jackson, (c) The religion of the Achaemenian kings.
26. Prof. Jastrow, (a) The first international Congress for the historical study of religions in Paris, 1900.
27. Prof. Jastrow, (b) Babylonian influences in the Penta-teuchal codes.
28. Dr. Johnston, (a) A letter of Šamaš-šum-ukin to his brother Sardanapalus.
29. Rev. Mr. Kohut, (a) The parable of Abraham and the fire-worshipper.
30. Rev. Mr. Kohut, (b) Bernicle geese in Jewish literature.
31. Rev. Mr. Kohut, (c) Other Oriental parallels to the story of King John and the Abbot.
32. Prof. Lanman, (a) Talking Birds in ancient India.
33. Prof. Lanman, (b) The urgent need of good text-books for the progress of Indian studies.
34. Prof. Lanman, (c) The name of Buddha's birthplace (Lumbini-vana) once more.
35. Mr. Michelson, (a) Indo-European tenues aspiratae in Greek.
36. Mr. Michelson (b) The genitive in *-hya* in Old Persian.
37. Mr. Michelson, (c) A note on NR.a. 52.

38. Prof. Oertel, On the phonetic character of Sanskrit *h*.
39. Prof. Price, The pantheon of the Gudean cylinders.
40. Prof. Prince, (*a*) On the monolingual non-Semitic text K. 138 and K. 3232 (ASKT. pp. 104 ff.).
41. Prof. Prince, (*b*) The use and meaning of the Assyrian word Puridu.
42. Pres. Ramsay, A study of the second Psalm.
43. Mr. Remy, The influence of Persian literature on the German poet Platen.
44. Mr. Schuyler, An index verborum of the fragments of the Avesta.
45. Prof. Torrey, (*a*) "M^epharr^eshē and M^ephōrāsh" again.
46. Prof. Torrey, (*b*) The old Syriac (Lewis Palimpsest) reading in Matthew 14. 26; Mark 6. 49.
47. Dr. Ward, The Hittite question.
48. Mr. Talcott Williams, Islam in Morocco.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.,
December 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1900.

THE Society met in Philadelphia, Penna., in connection with the Congress of Philological and Archæological Societies, which was held at the University of Pennsylvania in that city on December 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1900. The following societies participated in the Congress:

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY (1842).
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (1869).
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION (1876).
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA (1879).
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS (1880).
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION (1883).
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY (1889).

A joint meeting of these Societies was held on Thursday afternoon, December 27th, at half-past two o'clock, in the College Chapel. An address of welcome was made by Provost C. C. Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania, and responded to, on behalf of the Societies, by President D. C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University. President W. A. P. Martin, of the Imperial University, Peking, China, spoke briefly on Chinese Diplomacy. The rest of the session was given to the reading of papers by members of the different societies, as follows:

Professor G. F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary. Some Oriental sources of the Alexander romance.

President B. I. Wheeler, University of California. What is the cause of phonetic uniformity?

Professor J. R. S. Sterrett, Amherst College. A ruined Seljuk Khan compared with Anatolian Khans of to-day.

Professor F. A. March, Lafayette College. A survey of the growth of modern language work in America.

Professor George Hempl, University of Michigan. Calling to cows.

Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University. Some Oriental princesses at the Egyptian court of the 18th dynasty.

Professor Brander Matthews, Columbia University. The importance of the folk-theatre.

Professor Allan Marquand, Princeton University. The Morgan collection of gold objects recently presented to the Metropolitan Museum.

On Thursday evening, at eight o'clock, in the same place, the address before the affiliated Societies was delivered by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, on Oscillations and Nutations in Philology.

The sessions of the American Oriental Society were held on Thursday and Friday mornings, Dec. 27th and 28th, in the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania.

The following members of the Society were in attendance:¹

Arnold, W. R.	Gottheil	Kent	Robinson
Barton	Gray	Levy	Rogers
Blomgren	Grimm	Lilley	Ropes
Casanowicz	Haupt	Martin, W. A. P.	Rudolph, Miss
Dippell	Hopkins	Moore	Scott
Driscoll	Hyvernast	Oertel	Steele
Fenollosa	Jackson	Paton	Ward, W. H.
Gilman	Jastrow	Peters	Winslow

The meeting on Thursday morning was called to order at 10 o'clock by Dr. Williams Hayes Ward, Vice-President of the Society. Professor Oertel was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tem*. The Society then adjourned till 11 o'clock, that the members might have opportunity to hear the annual address of the President of the Society of Biblical Literature, by Dr. John P. Peters, on the Religion of Moses.

At 11 o'clock the Society resumed its session with President D. C. Gilman in the chair. The President introduced President William A. P. Martin of Peking, a corresponding member of the Society. The death, on Christmas day, of the Right Rev. Charles R. Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Illinois, was reported. Bishop Hale was one of the oldest members of the Society; while a student in the University of Pennsylvania he printed, in conjunction with others, a translation of the Rosetta Stone.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, read a paper on An Androgynous Babylonian divinity. President Martin pointed out a Chinese parallel.

¹ This list is doubtless incomplete, because many members of the Society who were in attendance upon the Congress did not register at the meetings of the Society.

Dr. L. H. Gray presented Contributions to the syntax of the Avesta—The Subordinate clause.

Professor Washburn Hopkins read a paper on the Hindu custom of dying to redress a grievance. Remarks on similar customs among the Chinese were made by President Martin and Mr. Lilley.

Professor Hanns Oertel read on the Sanskrit *apāna*, 'in-breathing.'

Mr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, read a communication on Intransitive verbs in Assyrian.

The Society adjourned to meet again on Friday morning.

The Society met on Friday morning at 11 o'clock.

Dr. W. C. Winslow read a paper on the Discovery of remains of the First Dynasty in Egypt.

Professor T. F. Wright, on some Jar handles with votive inscriptions from Palestine.

Professor G. L. Robinson, on the Religion of Edom, in the light of the newly discovered high place at Petra.

Rev. T. C. Foote, on Divination by lot in the Old Testament.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler gave an account of the Modern translations of *Çakuntalā*.

Professor G. L. Robinson gave the results of his recent investigation of the Wells of Beersheba.

The following communications were presented by title :

Professor G. A. Barton, The Genesis of the god Eshmun.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, Brief notes on the Sanskrit drama.

Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Composition and date of Enoch 37-71.

President Warren's paper (mentioned below) was withdrawn.

No business meeting was held at this session, but allusion was made informally to the losses suffered by the Society in the death of its Honorary member, Professor F. Max Müller, and of its Corporate members, Bishop Hale and Professor Everett.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the Society to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their generous hospitality; to the Local Committee for the admirable arrangements made by them for the sessions of the Congress and the several Societies, and for the comfort of the members; and to the Faculty Club for the courtesies extended by them.

The Society adjourned, to meet in New York, April 11, 1901.

As a matter of record the Programme of the Congress is appended.

CONGRESS
OF
Philological and Archæological Societies :

The American Oriental Society, organized 1842.
The American Philological Association, organized 1869.
The Spelling Reform Association, organized 1876.
The Archæological Institute of America, organized 1879.
The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, organized 1880.
The Modern Language Association of America, organized 1883.
The American Dialect Society, organized 1889.

HELD AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Dec. 27th, 28th and 29th, 1900.

PROGRAMME.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, (a) "An Androgynous Babylonian Divinity"; (b) "The Genesis of the God Eshmun."

Dr. Louis H. Gray, Columbia University, "Contributions to the Syntax of the *Avesta*—The Subordinate Clause."

Prof. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, "On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance."

Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia University, "Brief Notes on the Sanskrit Drama."

Mr. F. R. Blake, "Intransitive Verbs in Assyrian."

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, "The Composition and Date of *Enoch* 37-71."

Prof. H. Oertel, Yale University, "Apāna—In-Breathing."

Prof. George L. Robinson, University of Chicago, "The Religion of Edom in the Light of the Newly Discovered High Place at Petra."

Luncheon at 1 P. M. in Houston Hall.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON—GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., New York, "Modern Translation of the *Qakuntalā*."

Rev. W. C. Winslow, Boston, "First Dynasty Discoveries."

President W. F. Warren, Boston University, "Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian Cosmology."

Prof. Theodore F. Wright, Harvard University, "Jar Handles with Votive Inscriptions."

Prof. George L. Robinson, University of Chicago, "The Wells of Beersheba."

Rev. Theodore C. Foote, Johns Hopkins University, "Divination by Lot in the Old Testament."

THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Prof. Edgar S. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, "Notes on Juristic Latin."

Prof. W. A. Heidel, Iowa College, "Catullus and Furius Bibaculus."

Dr. Robert S. Radford, Bryn Mawr College, "Remains of Synapheia in Horace and Roman Tragedy."

Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Columbian University, "The Athens of Aristophanes."

Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, "Iphigenia in Euripides, Racine and Goethe."

Dr. George D. Kellogg, Yale University, "Critical Notes on Cicero's *Letters*."

Prof. S. G. Ashmore, Union University, "On Bennett's Criticism of Some of Elmer's Subjunctive Theories."

Prof. S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University, "The Archaic Inscription in the Roman Forum."

Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON—GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

THURSDAY EVENING, AT 8.30 P.M., in the College Chapel.

Address before the Affiliated Societies.

Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, "Oscillations and Mutations of Philology."

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Dr. Harry L. Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, "The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal."

Prof. Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, "Propertius as a Poet of Nature."

Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, "Studies in Lithuanian Accentuation."

Prof. John H. Wright, Harvard University, "Notes on Demosthenes' *On the Crown*."

Dr. Henry L. Sanders, University of Michigan, "The Younger Ennius."

Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, "A Preliminary Survey of Certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*."

Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, "The Salian Hymn."

Prof. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College, "Miscellanea Critica (Aesch. *Prom.* 2; Soph. *O. T.* 54 ff., Eur. *Med.* 214-224, *Hipp.* 1-2; Porson's Enunciation of 'Porson's Rule')."

Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.

Afternoon Session, in conjunction with the Archæological Institute. (See p. 212.)

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Welcome to the members of the Institute by the President and other officers of the Pennsylvania Society.

Dr. Ernst Riess, Manhattan College, "The Magical Papyri as a Source of our Knowledge of Greek Life."

Mr. Edgar James Banks, New York City, "Ur of the Chaldees and its Excavation" (to be read by Professor Haupt).

Rev. Dr. William C. Winslow, Boston, "Discoveries in Crete."

Mr. Howard Crosby Butler, Princeton University, "Sculpture in Northern Central Syria."*

Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, "A Bronze Statue of Heracles in Boston."*

Prof. Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, "Some Artistic Types Familiar to a Roman Country Gentleman."

Prof. Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University, "The Connexion of Phidias with Pericles and his Buildings."

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, "Inscription B of the Blau Monuments (AJA., First Series, IV, Plate V 2).

Rev. Walter Lowrie, Philadelphia, "An Early Christian Representation of Jonah, in the Metropolitan Museum."

The following papers were read by title:

Dr. W. N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, "Notes on the Old Athena Temple of the Acropolis."

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.

Prof. Edward Capps, University of Chicago, "Ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς and Similar Expressions."

Prof. W. F. Ebersole, Cornell College, "A Favorite Representation for a Greek and an Amazon in Conflict."

Luncheon at 1 P. M. in Houston Hall.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON—GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 9.30 A. M.

Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, "Interpretation of the Scene and Inscription on the Præneste Cista at Paris."

Prof. B. Perrin, Yale University, "The Ἱερεῖαι of Hellanikos and the Burning of the Argive Heraion."

Miss M. H. Buckingham, Boston, "The Work of the German Limeskommission."

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "The Twelve Hundred Arabic and Turkish Manuscripts recently acquired by Mr. Robert Garrett, of Baltimore."

Prof. W. H. Goodyear, New York City, "The Leaning Façade of Notre Dame as Compared with that at Pisa."*

Miss Harriet A. Boyd, Smith College, "A Settlement of the Geometric Period at Karusi in Crete."*

Prof. M. R. Sanford, Middlebury College, "The Material of the Tunica and Toga."*

Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University, "Some Contents of Early Etruscan Tombs, and Their Connection with Greece and the Orient."*

President B. I. Wheeler, University of California, "The Archæological Work now in Progress under the Auspices of the University of California."

Mrs. Sara Y. Stevenson, Philadelphia, "Notes on Some Important Objects in the Egyptian Collection of the University of Pennsylvania."

Dr. Charles Peabody, Cambridge, Mass., "Some Prehistoric Stone Ornaments of America."

The following papers were read by title :

Prof. James M. Hoppin, Yale University, "An Inquiry Respecting the Alleged Works and Places of Scopas in Greek Sculpture."

Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, "Observations on the Topography of Sphakteria and Pylos as Described by Thucydides, Book IV."

Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, "Tzetjian Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes in Col. Vat. Urb. 141."

Luncheon at 1 P. M. in Houston Hall.

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 2.30 P. M.

(Joint Session of the Archæological Institute and Philological Association.)

Prof. George Davis Chase, Cornell University, "Sun Myths in Lithuanian Folksongs."

Mr. E. P. Andrews, Cornell University, "Color on the Parthenon and on the Elgin Marbles. Recently Discovered Facts and Resultant Theories."

Prof. Edward Capps, University of Chicago, "Notes on the ἀρχαῖότερα Διονύσια."

Prof. John Henry Wright, Harvard University, "The Composition of Apelles's Calumny." *

Prof. S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University, "Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum." *

Prof. Louis Dyer, Oxford, "New Aspects of Mycenaean Culture." *

Prof. Thomas Day Seymour, Yale University, "Homeric Slavery and Servitude."

Prof. Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University, "The Visits of Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides at the Court of Hiero."

Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Columbian University, "Aristotle's Theory of Sculpture."

Prof. William A. Hammond, Cornell University, "Aristotle's Theory of Imagination." .

SATURDAY, DEC. 29TH, 9.30 A. M.

Dr. George H. Chase, St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass., "Shield Devices Among the Greeks."

Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, "Satan's Throne" and "Angelo."

Dr. George D. Kellogg, Yale University, "An Unidentified Building Next to S. Adriano, near the Forum."

Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University, "Did the Triumphal Arch Originate with the Romans or Macedonians?" "The Mediæval Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran in Rome."

Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., "The Significance of the Garment." *

Mr. Charles O'Connor, Iowa College, "Some Peculiarly Constructed Conduits in the Roman Forum." *

Dr. Edmund von Mach, Harvard University, "The Statue of Meleager in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University." *

Dr. A. S. Cooley, Auburndale, Mass., "The Excavations of the American School in Corinth." *

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, "Robbia Pavements."

Mr. Edward Robinson, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, "The Arretine Pottery in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts."

Dr. Joseph Clark Hoppin, Bryn Mawr College, "Aglaophon's Portrait of Alcibiades."

Prof. Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, "The Use of $\mu\eta$ in Questions."

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Business Meeting.

Dr. J. P. Peters, President's Address.

Luncheon at 1 P. M. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Prof. T. F. Wright, Harvard University, "A Symbolic Figure of the Queen of Heaven."

Prof. L. B. Paton, Hartford, "The Problem of the Patriarchs."

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, "The Baal Cult in Israel."

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "Corrective Interpolations in the *Book of Proverbs*."

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, "West Semitic Deities with Compound Names."

Luncheon at 1 P. M. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—AFTERNOON SESSION, 2.30 P. M.

Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia University, "A Persian Lacquer Painting Representing the Last Judgment."

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "On the Hebrew Phrase *Nathan rosh*."

Prof. J. H. Thayer, Harvard University, "Report on the Palestinian School," followed by discussion.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Report of the Secretary.

Report of the Treasurer.

Appointment of Committees.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, "The Home of the *Heliland*."

Prof. A. B. Faust, Wesleyan University, "The Problematic Hero in German Fiction."

Dr. J. D. M. Ford, Harvard University, "The Relations Between Spanish and English Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century."

Dr. Arthur H. Quinn, University of Pennsylvania, "*The Faïre Maide of Bristow*. Comedy. 1605."

Prof. E. W. Scripture, Yale University, "Researches in Experimental Phonetics."

Prof. Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana, "Some Popular Literary Motives in the *Edda* and the *Heimskringla*." [Read by title.]

Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, "The Language of Luther's *Ein Urtheil der Theologen zu Paris, 1521*." [Read by title.]

Dr. Clark S. Northup, Cornell University, "*Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam*: a Fragment and a Translation." [Read by title.]

Prof. Th. W. Hunt, Princeton University, "Guiding Principles in the Study of Literature." [Read by title.]

Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH, 5.30 P. M.

AMERICA DIALECT SOCIETY. (ANNUAL MEETING.)

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 9.30 A. M.

Dr. Mary Augusta Scott, Smith College, "*Il Cortigiano*."

Prof. F. M. Warren, Western Reserve University, "On the Latin Sources of *Thèbes and Énéas*."

Prof. W. H. Carruth, University of Kansas, "The Teaching of Lessing's *Story of the Ring*."

Dr. C. von Klenze, University of Chicago, "Goethe's Attitude towards Antiquity in the Light of Comparative Literature."

Prof. Francis A. Wood, Cornell College, "The Semasiology of Color-words and their Congeners."

Dr. Albert Haas, Bryn Mawr College, "Johann Christian Krüger's *Lustspiele* [1722-1750]."

Prof. Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania, "The English Chronicle Play." [Read by title.]

Mr. Harold De W. Fuller, Harvard University, "The Sources of *Titus Andronicus*." [Read by title.]

Prof. Hugo A. Rennert, University of Pennsylvania, "The Trobador Bertran d'Alamanon." [Read by title.]

Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 2.30 P. M.

Prof. O. F. Emerson, Western Reserve University, "The Legend of Cain in Old and Middle English Literature."

Prof. F. N. Scott, University of Michigan, "Report of the Pedagogical Section on 'The Graduate Study of Rhetoric.'"

Prof. Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri, "The Primitive *Prise d'Orange*."

Prof. James Taft Hatfield, Northwestern University, "A Note on the Prison scene in Goethe's *Faust*."

Dr. J. Vincent Crowne, University of Pennsylvania, "On the Middle English Religious Lyric."

Prof. C. C. Ferrell, University of Mississippi, "The *Medea* of Euripides and the *Medea* of Grillparzer."

Mr. Charles M. Magee, Temple College, Philadelphia, "Literary Manners in the Nineteenth Century."

Dr. K. D. Jessen, University of Chicago, "*Laocoön* and Lesing as a Connoisseur of Art." [Read by title.]

Prof. F. G. G. Schmidt, University of Oregon, "*Der mynnen chrieg mit der sel*: an Inedited Dialogue in the Alemannic Dialect of the Fifteenth Century." [Read by title.]

Prof. M. D. Learned, University of Pennsylvania, "Goethe and Pindar." [Read by title.]

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 8.30 P. M., MCKEAN HALL.

Prof. Thomas R. Price, Columbia University, Annual Address of the President of the Association, subject: "The New Function of Modern Language Teaching."

The Modern Language Association cordially invites the members of the affiliated societies of the Congress to this session.

SATURDAY, DEC. 29TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

IN MEMORY OF CHAUCER.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, "A Friend of Chaucer's."

Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, "The date of *Palamon and Arcite*."

Dr. William Henry Schofield, Harvard University, "The Source of Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*."

Prof. F. B. Gummere, Haverford College, "Is Chaucer Modern or Medieval?"

Prof. W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University, "*The Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale*."

Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, "The Development of Middle English Final *-ich*, *-ig*, *-y*."

Prof. James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, "The Structure of Chaucer's Verse."

Prof. Ewald Fluegel, Leland Stanford, Jr., University, "Chaucer's *Prologue* and Gower's *Mirour de l'Homme*." [Read by title.]

GENERAL MEETING.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH, AT 2.30 P. M. in the College Chapel.

Provost C. C. Harrison, University of Pennsylvania, Address of Welcome.

Prof. George F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary, "Some Oriental Sources of the Alexander Myth."

Pres. B. I. Wheeler, University of California, "What is the Cause of Phonetic Uniformity?"

Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Amherst College, "A Ruined Seljuk Khan Compared with Anatolian Khans of To-day."*

Prof. F. A. March, Lafayette College, "A Survey of the Growth of Modern Language Work in America."

Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, "Calling to Cows."

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "Suggestions for Future Oriental Congresses."

Prof. Brander Matthews, Columbia University, "The Importance of the Folk Theatre."

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, "The Morgan Collection of Gold Objects Recently Presented to the Metropolitan Museum."*

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, DECEMBER, 1900.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- His Excellency, OTTO VON BOEHTLINGK, Hospital Str. 25, Leipzig, Germany. 1844.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
- Prof. EDWARD B. COWELL, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England. Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1893.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, University of Goettingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg 21.) 1887.
- Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1893.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (Königin Str. 49.) Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.
- Prof. CORNELIS P. TIELE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.
- Prof. ALBRECHT WEBER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Ritter Str. 56, S. W.) Corresponding Member, 1850; Hon., 1869.
- EDWARD W. WEST, Maple Lodge, Watford (Herts), England. 1899.
- Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890.
- [Total, 24.]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

- Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, D.D., Bombay, India. 1900.
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.
 NAGEEB J. ARBEELY, 108 Broad St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
 Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.
 Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
 Dr. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, 136 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, 207 East 16th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 IRVING BABBITT (Harvard Univ.), Dana Chambers, 37, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 Prof. BENJAMIN WISNER BACON (Yale Univ.), 142 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
 Prof. MARK BAILEY, Jr. (State Univ. of Washington), 1019 Chestnut St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ANNIE L. BARBER, Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa. 1892.
 DAVID P. BARNITZ, Des Moines, Iowa. 1898.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (Episcopal Divinity School), 4805 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
 Rev. HENRY MASON BAUM, D.C.L., Washington Savings Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1899.
 Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
 FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2106 Oak St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.
 FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., 88 Conduit St., London, England. 1898.
 Rev. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Ph.D., 1525 McKean St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
 Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
 Rev. E. BRENNECKE, 868 North Boulevard, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
 Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, Lexington, Mass. 1896.
 Prof. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.

- Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Pres. GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.
- Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
- Dr. W. CALAND, 5 Seeligsingel, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. SIMON J. CARR, 322 South 5th St., Reading, Pa. 1892.
- Prof. A. S. CARRIER (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
- CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
- Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, 1830 Sherman Ave., Denver, Colorado. 1894.
- WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.
- †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
- Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
- SAMUEL VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Dr. FREDERIC TABER COOPER, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
- Miss LUTIE REBECCA CORWIN, 1280 Willson Ave., Cleveland, O. 1895.
- Mrs. OLIVER CRANE, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Prof. EDWARD L. CURTIS (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Columbia University), 81 East 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
- HON. DR. CHARLES H. STANLEY DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1897.
- LAURELL W. DEMERITT, 955 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1898.
- ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, 301 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.
- JAMES T. DENNIS, 1008 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 45 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.
- VICTOR W. DEPELL, 1230 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.
- SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1854.
- Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
- WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

- Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
 Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, Lodiana, Punjab, India. 1900.
 MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, 921 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
 Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.
 ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, Ichibauchi, Ichome, 1 Fuji-micho, Tokio, Japan. 1894.
 Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
 Rev. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China. 1900.
 †Lady CAROLINE FITZ MAURICE, 2 Green St., Grosvenor Square, London, England. 1886.
 †FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.
 Rev. THEODORE CLINTON FOOTE, Irvington, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.
 Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1883.
 Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 8d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.
 Prof. BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
 Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
 Rev. LOUIS GINZBERG, Ph.D., 1612 East End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.
 RALPH L. GOODRICH, Clerk of the U. S. Court, Little Rock, Ark. 1883.
 ENEAS B. GOODWIN, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1900.
 Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.
 JACOB GRAPE, JR., N. High St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
 LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D. (Princeton Univ.), 53 Second Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
 Dr. GEORGE A. GRIERSON, care of Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., Westminster, London, S. W., England. 1899.
 Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 136 W. 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Ahmednagar, India. 1898.
 Dr. KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 236 Oyster Ave., Youngstown, O. 1894.
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
 Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
 CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
 Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
 A. H. HAIGAZIAN, Cania, Turkey. 1898.
 Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
 Pres. WILLIAM RAINY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.
 Prof. SAMUEL HART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
 Dr. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1893.
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1883.
 Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

- Rev. WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD, Ph.D., West Chester, Pa. 1893.
Prof. RICHARD HENEBRY, Ph.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1900.
Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
Rev. Dr. S. W. HOWLAND, 174 West 96th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
ROBERT E. HUME, 24 Home Place, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1878.
Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
Rev. MARCUS JASTROW, 189 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Miss MARY JEFFERS, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
Dr. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
R. P. KARKARIA, Nepean Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1897.
HERBERT KAUFMAN, care of N. Snellenburg & Co., 12th & Market Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Brown University), 117 Benevolent St., Providence, R. I. 1890.
Miss ELISABETH T. KING, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Prof. GEORGE W. KNOX (Union Theol. Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
Rabbi GEORGE A. KOHUT, 249 S. Erroz St., Dallas, Texas. 1894.
†Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
Rev. JOSEPH LANMAN, Ph.D., St. James, Minn. 1896.
Rev. ROBERT J. LAU, P. O. Box 163, Weehawken, N. J. 1897.
BERTHOLD LAUFER, Ph.D., 125 Hohe St., Cologne, Germany. 1900.
THOMAS B. LAWLER, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
†HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.

- Prof. CHARLES S. LEAVENWORTH, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China, 1900.
- Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.
- Rev. CLIFTON HARBY LEVY, 109 East 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- ROBERT LILLEY, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, 59 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- Rev. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 595 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Gen'l CHARLES G. LORING (Museum of Fine Arts), 8 Otis Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.
- ARTHUR ONCKEN LOVEJOY, 5 Rue Rollin, Paris, France. 1897.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Russell & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- †BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTCHGOM (Harvard University), National Bank of Egypt, Cairo, Egypt. 1899.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD (Hartford Theological Seminary), 15 Beach St., Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, Melrose, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Redfield, South Dakota. 1887.
- Rev. JOHN R. MAHONEY, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
- WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
- Mrs. MATILDA R. McCONNELL, 112 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Rev. JOHN McFADYEN, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1899.
- Rev. DONALD J. McKINNON, 1032 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal. 1897.
- Prof. WILLIAM N. MEBANE, Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana. 1898.
- TRUMAN MICHELSON, 241 Wingate Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri, 1892.
- Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Ifley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
- Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.
- PAUL ELMER MORE, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1893.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- WARREN J. MOULTON, Ph.D. (Yale Divinity School), 22 East Divinity Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1899.
- Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, Springfield, Mass. 1898.
- Rev. Prof. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S.J., Campion Hall, Oxford, England. 1889.

ISAAC MYER, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.

JENS ANDERSON NESS, Johns Hopkins University (Box 442), Baltimore, Md. 1897.

GEORGE NATHAN NEWMAN, Washington Mills, Oneida Co., N. Y. 1891.

Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.

Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.

GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.

†ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.

JOHN ORNE, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.

Prof. GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, New York, N. Y. 1894.

Rev. CHARLES RAY PALMER, D.D., 127 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.

Rev. GEORGE PALMER PARDINGTON, 194 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.

Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.

Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.

Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 133 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.

Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.

Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.

Prof. SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.

MURRAY E. POOLE, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.

WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.

MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER (Harvard University), 18 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.

Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.

Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (New York University), 1 West 39th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.

Rev. HUGO RADAU, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1896.

Madame ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN, 207 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.

Pres. F. P. RAMSAY, Oxford, Ala. 1889.

Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.

ARTHUR F. J. REMY, 112 West 137th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Dr. CHARLES RICE, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.

ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1900.

EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.

Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.

Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Metropolitan Club, Washington, D. C. 1880.

Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.

Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Rev. WILLIAM ROSENAU, 1527 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 434 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.

- Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, 371 West End Ave., New York City. 1897.
 Miss CATHERINE B. RUNKLE, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 THOMAS H. P. SAILER, 4046 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
 †Prof. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.
 Prof. FRANK K. SANDERS (Yale University), 235 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
 Rev. TOBIAS SCHANFARBER, 902 Government St., Mobile, Ala. 1897.
 Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., 1025 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, Radnor, Pa. 1895.
 J. HERBERT SENTER, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1870.
 Dr. CHARLES H. SHANNON, Holstein Mills, Va. 1899.
 THOMAS STANLEY SIMONDS, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1892.
 MACY M. SKINNER, 33 Holyoke House, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.
 Prof. MAXWELL SOMMERVILLE, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
 WILLIAM WALLACE SPENCE, JR., Bolton, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
 HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., 120 Remsen St., Astoria, N. Y. 1899.
 HENRY HULL ST. CLAIR, JR., Nyack-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1900.
 Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.
 Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 74 West 103d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
 NATHAN STERN, 448 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
 Prof. J. H. STEVENSON, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.
 Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
 JOSEPH TRUMBULL STICKNEY, 3 Rue Soufflot, Paris, France. 1900.
 ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
 Principal ALFRED W. STRATTON, Punjab University, Lahore, India. 1894.
 MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR, Andover, Mass. 1884.
 Prof. J. HENRY THAYER (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
 Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.
 Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
 Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
 Prof. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 75 Union Park St., Boston, Mass. 1892.
 JOHN M. TROUT, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
 Rev. HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, 4103 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
 EDWARD P. Vining, 532 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.

- THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F. St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.
 †THOMAS WALSH, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.
 Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
 Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 180 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
 Miss CORNELIA WARREN, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Pres. WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.
 CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.
 Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
 Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
 Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
 Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
 Dr. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX, Office of Experiment Stations, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 1896.
 FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
 TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D. ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Dr. THOMAS WILSON, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1897.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
 Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 772 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
 Rev. LAUREN P. WOLFE, Church of The Holy Comforter, 19th and Titan Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
 Rev. CHARLES JAMES WOOD, St. John's Rectory, York, Pa. 1892.
 Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
 WILLIAM W. WOOD, 1604 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 JAMES H. WOODS, Ph.D., 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
 Rev. ELWOOD WORCESTER, Ph.D., 1318 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
 Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 88 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
 Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, 205 East 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.
- [TOTAL, 288.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

- Rev. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
 Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 127 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Rev. Dr. EDWARD N. CALISCH, 1036 West Grace St., Richmond, Va. 1899.
 Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, South India. 1899.

- SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
 ROLAND B. DIXON, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 DR. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1898.
 DR. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.
 PROF. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (Columbia Univ.), 150 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
 PROF. ARTHUR L. GILLET, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.
 PROF. GEORGE S. GOODSPEED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
 DR. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 JAMES H. HOFFMAN, 25 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 PROF. WILLIAM JAMES (Harvard University), 95 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 DR. LEWIS G. JANES, 168 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 REV. DR. J. P. JONES, Pasumalai, South India. 1899.
 PROF. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 PROF. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
 WILLIAM W. NEWELL, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
 PROF. J. WINTHROP PLATNER (Harvard Divinity School), Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), 24 Grays Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 MISS FLORENCE S. ROGERS, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1900.
 REV. DR. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 PROF. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 PROF. J. L. STEWART, 1401 North 17th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
 PROF. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 140 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 PROF. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.
 [TOTAL, 28.]

IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Prof. GRAZIADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
 Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
 Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.
 Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.
 Rev. Dr. HENRY BLODGET (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 313 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1858.
 Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
 Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
 Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.
 Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.

- Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
 Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.
 A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
 HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*),
 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.
 Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
 Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
 Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
 Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Ajntab, Syria. 1887.
 Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1878.
 Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 38 Bambury Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
 Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
 Rev. Prof. ALBERT L. LONG, Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.
 Rev. ROBERT S. MACLAY (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President
 of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
 Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Peking, China. 1858.
 Dr. DAVIS BETHUNE MCCARTER, American Presbyterian Mission, Tokio,
 Japan. 1857.
 Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Ulm, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.
 Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.
 Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.
 ALPHONSE PINART. [Address desired.] 1871.
 Prof. LÉON DE ROSNY (École des langues orientales vivantes), 47 Avenue
 Duquesne, Paris, France. 1857.
 Rev. Dr. S. I. J. SCHERESCHESKY, Shanghai, China.
 Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.
 Dr. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, U. S. Consul, Baghdad, Turkey. 1893.
 Rev. GEORGE N. THOMSEN, of the American Baptist Mission, Bapatla,
 Madras Pres., India. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.
 Rev. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Meriden, Conn.
 Rev. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean
 Grove, N. J.) 1878.
 Rev. JOSEPH K. WHITE, New Hamburg, N. Y. Corp. Member, 1869.
 [TOTAL, 37.]
 Number of Members of the four classes (24+288+28+37=377.)

SOCIETIES, LIBRARIES, TO WHICH THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN
 ORIENTAL SOCIETY ARE SENT BY WAY OF GIFT OR EXCHANGE.

I. AMERICA.

- BOSTON, MASS.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
 CHICAGO, ILL.: Field Columbian Museum.
 NEW YORK: American Geographical Society.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.
 WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.
 Bureau of American Ethnology.
 WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society,
 VOL. XXI. 16

II. EUROPE.

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA : Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
- PRAGUE : Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK : University Library.
- FRANCE, PARIS : Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)
 Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
 Bibliothèque Nationale.
 Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
 Société Académique Indo-Chinoise.
- GERMANY, BERLIN : Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Königliche Bibliothek.
 Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen.
- GÖTTINGEN : Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- HALLE : Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)
- LEIPZIG : Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- MUNICH : Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
- GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON : Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
 (22 Albemarle St., W.)
 Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)
 Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
 Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 8 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)
- ITALY, FLORENCE : Società Asiatica Italiana.
 ROME : Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM : Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
 THE HAGUE : Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.
 LEYDEN : Curatorium of the University.
- NORWAY, CHRISTIANIA : Videnskabs-Selskab.
- SWEDEN, UPSALA : Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.
- RUSSIA, ST. PETERSBURG : Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
 Archeologij Institut.

III. ASIA.

- CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA : Home Department.
- CEYLON, COLOMBO : Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- CHINA, PEKING : Peking Oriental Society.
- SHANGHAI : China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- INDIA, BOMBAY : Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- CALCUTTA : The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
- LAHORE : Library of the Oriental College.

JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

TURKEY, CONSTANTINOPLE: Imperial Ottoman Museum.

* IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Indogermanische Forschungen (care of Prof. W. Streitberg, Freiburg, Switzerland).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Revue des Études Juives. (Librairie A. Durlacher, 83 bis, rue Lafayette, Paris, France.)

Revue Archéologique. (Rue de Lille, 2, Paris, France.)

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Oriental Bibliography (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Good Hope, Illinois.

RECIPIENTS: 840 (Members) + 61 (Gifts and Exchanges) = 401.

REQUEST.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institutions or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

Andover Theological Seminary.

Chicago University Library.

Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.

Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.

Harvard University Library.

New York Public Library.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be :—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall

also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAW.

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1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

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